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ANCIENT HISTORY OF SAURASHTRA

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Ancient History of Saurashtra

(being a study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi V to VIII Centuries A.D.)

by

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A MAITRAKA SEAL





VALABHI COINS

FOREWORD

IN this book Dr. Miss Krishnakumari J. Virji presents her researches in the history and culture of Saurashtra from the earliest times to the end of the eighth century A.D. Hitherto, historians had been concerned mainly in giving a picture of the country as a whole and its civilization, which while it no doubt served a useful purpose in promoting the cultural unity of our people, left unassessed the contribution which each region has made to our national heritage. The present work, dealing as it does with regional history and of a period which has as yet received scant notice, focusses the attention on this neglected aspect of our history.

It is a curious circumstance that the inscriptions recording the repairs to the Sudarśana lake near Junagad effected under Aśoka, Rudradaman and Skandagupta, should also be the means of revealing the three well-marked epochs in the early history of Saurashtra prior to the emergence of the Maitrakas as an independent power. The lake was constructed in the time of Chandragupta Maurya. It was improved under Aśoka, his grandson, who had his edicts carved on a rock in its vicinity. Four hundred years later, in A.D. 150, when fresh repairs were found necessary, Rudradāman availed himself of the opportunity to give a brief history of the lake and recount his achievements on this rock in a *praśasti*. In A.D. 457 the lake dam burst again. It was repaired by the local governor of Skandagupta, who also used the same rock to record the event.

Bhaṭārka, the progenitor of the Maitraka line and political successor of the Guptas in this western extremity of their dominions, probably began his career as their governor, and taking advantage of the weakness of the Gupta Empire, founded a new dynasty, though still styling himself a *senāpati*. His successors grew sufficiently powerful to shed all semblance of vassalage, and in time came to be recognized as Emperors. At the height of their power they held Malwa and Gujarat under their sway in addition to their home province of Saurashtra. The author has done justice to their memory in characterizing their rule as humane, beneficent and civilized. The capital, Valabhi, boasted of a far-famed university, the state was well ahead of the times in matters of administration, and the country prospered owing to a brisk trade flowing through its ports. Nor was the Maitraka state lagging behind in the art of warfare, and though it ultimately perished fighting, it ever stands to its glory that it withstood for sixty years the continued attacks of Arabs, who, after

making themselves masters of Sind, were seeking to extend their dominion. The strong opposition they met with in this long period checked their ardour and saved the hinterland from servitude, a fact of great significance to-day when Saurashtra has once more come into its own as a State in the Indian Union, while a new Dominion has emerged on its northern frontiers as in the year 712.

Much devoted labour has gone into the making of this book, which is based on a thorough and critical study not only of the Maitraka sources, but also of the records of every other dynasty with which they came in contact. The method applied has been to rely solely on the material in hand and make constructive use of imagination, which, while eschewing hasty conclusions, makes the dry bones of archæology live. How far this method has been successful it is for the scholar to judge. Nevertheless, I must say that an attempt has been made to provide solutions to a number of problems in the contemporary history of Ancient India, which could not be solved satisfactorily until the political achievements of the Maitrakas were properly assessed.

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INTRODUCTION

In my quest of a subject for this thesis I have been guided mainly by a desire to do justice to a dynasty of rulers whose achievements have all but been forgotten in the kaleidoscopic pattern of Ancient Indian History. The work is not a text-book for the student nor a hand-book for the general reader. It is intended to be a research-worker's introduction to that period of the great Indian past which immediately preceded the troublous times when the Arab invaders poured into Sindh disturbing in their march the political system of western India.

The origin of the Maitrakas who in their time were one of the most influential ruling families of Āryavarta can be traced back into the fifth century A.D. when they began their career as *Senāpatis* of the Guptas. They remained in that feudatory position till two generations later. Droṇasiṁha, the third ruler of the line, availed himself of the difficulties of his overlords to declare himself a *mahārāja*. Gradually thereafter they waxed stronger and in the reign of Dhruvasena I we find the Gārulakas acknowledging their supremacy. The next stage was reached under king Guhasena. The Maukhari king Īśvaravarman had attempted to advance as far as the Raivataka mountains and clashed with their rising power with great disaster to his arms. The clash of rivalries, however, continued till the first quarter of the seventh century, when the Maitraka domains were extended to include even Mālavā.

About this time, however, Harṣavardhana, who had long been forced to confine himself to his own kingdom, began extending his dominions west and south and attacked the Maitrakas. Some time before, the Chālukyas too under Pulikēśi II had pushed northwards and compelled them to acknowledge their suzerainty. The contest was now between the rival overlords, and in the period of confusion that followed, both in the north and in the south, the Maitraka king Dharasena IV saw his chance to assume the title of *Chakravarti*. But his growing power would seem to have received a fresh check from the military activities of Pulikēśi's son Vikramāditya I, since the grandiloquent titles of Dharasena are not retained by his successor. In the reign of Śīlāditya II the Maitrakas again made themselves independent and thereafter waxed sufficiently powerful to harass the Gurjaras, when in the ensuing conflict with their overlord the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya II they were worsted and only managed to survive at the expense of a large part of their dominions.

The Maitrakas had thus ruled over Surāṣṭra and great portions of Gujarāt for about three hundred years. Starting towards the end of the fifth century A.D., they had waxed strong and advanced from mere nothing to heights of glory and lasted amid varying fortunes well-nigh till the close of the eighth century. Their main contribution appears to have been in the field of adminis-

tration in which adopting the machinery of their predecessors, the Mauryas, the Kṣatrapas and the Guptas, they moulded it to fit a system which is very near like that of our own times. At their capital, again, flourished that great Buddhist centre of learning, the University of Valabhī, the memory of which has escaped the oblivion to which its patrons and their deeds of bravery are sunk. In other spheres of life too they made their contribution, albeit modest, aiding religion and furthering the social life of their people by their generosity and encouragement.

In reconstructing the history of the times during which the Maitrakas lived, fought and perished, I have had to seek the aid of coins and contemporary records, both their own and those of the other powers of the period whose rulers came into constant contact with them. I have also sought recourse to the pages of the great foreign travellers Fa-Hien, Hiuen Tsiang, I-Tsing and Alberuni who sojourned and passed through India, leaving behind accounts of what they saw and heard. Classical Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina literature has been a third source of information and material.

The thesis is the result of research carried on under the guidance of Prof. George M. Moraes. During this period I have also received encouragement from Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S.J. I should also not fail to mention here the names of Dr. M. G. Dikshit, Dr. L. B. Keny, Dr. Durgashankar Shastri, and Mr. B. S. Purohit who have laid me deeply under obligation by their helpful criticism and suggestions. While Mr. R. G. Gyani, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, and Mr. B. Anderson, Assistant Librarian, University of Bombay, have greatly eased my task by placing at my disposal the collections of books, coins and copper-plate grants under their respective charges.

K. J. VIRJI

INTRODUCTORY

THE early history of Surāṣṭra is enveloped in a mist of legend. According to one Purāṇic account the holy king Anartta who was a son of Śaryātī and grandson of Manu, is reputed to have had his capital at Kuśasthalī or Dwārikā in Surāṣṭra. The legend further reveals that Anartta which corresponds to Northern Gujarāt was also included in his dominions. Anartta's son Revata succeeded him. Revata's grand-daughter Revatī was married to a Yādava king Baladeva of Dwārikā. This Baladeva, it is said, defeated Revata's son Raivata, i.e., his own father-in-law, and ascended the throne, while the latter on losing his kingdom fled by sea.[1]

Another Purāṇic legend describes the Yādava family as descended from Yadu. The thirty-seventh descendant of this ruler was Śātavāhana, in whose family was born Vasudeva, the father of the great Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. It was after the death of Vasudeva that the Yādavas left their old capital Mathurā and settled at Dwārikā. This change of capital was occasioned by the repeated attacks of Kṛṣṇa's maternal uncle Kaṁsa, Kālayavana, a Deccan chief, and Jarānsandha, the powerful ruler of Magadha or Behar.[2] It is said that Kālayavana followed the fugitive Kṛṣṇa and his companions as far as Surāṣṭra but he was reduced to ashes by the fire from the eyes of the sleeping sage Muchakunda, whom he had disturbed, mistaking him for his enemy Kṛṣṇa.[3] After this event the Yādavas conquered Surāṣṭra from the demons, who had held it before them.[4]

Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa were in close alliance with their paternal aunt's sons the Pāṇḍavas[5] who ruled at Hastināpura or Delhi.[6] On a certain occasion when Kṛṣṇa was absent at Hastināpura to attend the Rājasuya sacrifice performed by the Pāṇḍava king Yudhiṣṭhira, the Śālva king of Mṛttikāvali in Saubha led an army against Dwārikā, plundered the city and withdrew unmolested. But on his return to Dwārikā Kṛṣṇa proceeded against the Śālva chief and defeated and killed him. The Yādavas, however, did not live to enjoy the fruits of their victory.[7] Family feuds which soon broke out brought their sway over Surāṣṭra to a speedy end—36 years after the Mahābhārata war.[8] The deserted Dwārikā is thereupon said to have been " swallowed " up by the sea.[9]

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1 *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, I, V, 19 to Ch. II, V. S., *The Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, XII, v. 22-24; *Harivaṁśa*, X, cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 8.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Mahābhārata*, II, 13, 5, 9; *Harivaṁśa*, XXXV, CXII.

4 Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 9.

5 *Mahābhārata*, *Ādiparva*, 218, 21; one of these Pāṇḍava brothers named Arjuna married Kṛṣṇa's sister Subhadrā.

6 Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, pp. 9-10.

7 *Mahābhārata*, *Vanaparva*, XIV, XXII.

8 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 11.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

We are then faced with a long blank in the historical tradition of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ. In fact, it is only with the advent of the Mauryas in this country that the real political history of Gujarāt begins. In the year 319 B.C. Chandragupta, the founder of the Mauryan rule, having consolidated his position in Magadha, was busy spreading his empire to the east and the west.[1] He defeated Seleukos Nikator, the Syrian king, in about 304 B.C., and after that turned north-west and annexed Kāṭhiāwāḍ.[2] It is known from the Pāli sources that during the Mauryan regime there was a local dynasty in Kāṭhiāwāḍ which was feudatory to them.[3] Piṅgala, "the tawny-eyed prince" of this dynasty, we are told, actually ascended the throne in the sixteenth regnal year of Chandragupta's son Bindusāra.[4] It is not improbable that this family was in possession of Kāṭhiāwāḍ when Chandragupta arrived there in the course of his victorious expedition, and was allowed to continue its rule on agreeing to accept a feudatory status. Chandragupta, of course, appointed his own viceroys to look after the imperial interests in the west, and we have it in the Junāgaḍha Rock inscription of Rudradaman (A.D. 150), that one of these viceroys (rāṣṭriya) was a Vaiśya called Puṣyagupta who has immortalized his name by building the famous lake Sudarśana.[5] In his *Arthaśāstra* Kautilya refers to certain sections of the population of Surāṣṭra as belonging to a self-governing corporation of warriors (Kṣatriya śreṇis).[6] This would show that under the Mauryas Surāṣṭra probably enjoyed a large measure of autonomy.

After Chandragupta's death in about 299 B.C. his son Bindusāra succeeded to the Mauryan empire. Of his rule, indeed, which extended over a period of a quarter of a century, we know very little.[7] He, however, seems to have kept his father's empire intact, and even added to his dominions so that when Aśōka ascended the throne in the year c. 269 B.C. the Mauryan empire had already assumed large proportions.[8] Doubtless, Surāṣṭra continued to form a part of the empire, and we have it on record that Yavanarāja Tuśāspha, possibly a Greek by birth,[9] who further beautified the Sudarśana lake,

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1 Mookerji, *Aśōka*, p. 72.

2 Kielhorn, "Junāgaḍha Rock Inscription of Rudradaman," *E. I.*, VIII, pp. 36-49; Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions from Gujarāt*, I, No. 6.

3 Mookerji, *op. et loc. cit.* Bhārgava, *Chandragupta Maurya*, p. 49; *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 429-30.

4 *Pettavathu*, pp. 57-61 (iv, 3); *Paramatthadipani on Pettavathu*, pp. 244-57; cf. Chatterjee, "A Historical Character in the Reign of Aśōka Maurya," *Achārya Puṣpāñjali Vol.*, p. 331 ff.

5 Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.*

6 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 378.

7 Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 28. The Purāṇas attribute 25 years' reign to him while the Pāli sources give him 27-28 years.

8 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 472.

9 Raychaudhari, *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 236-37.

was the Mauryan viceroy under Aśōka.[1] The latter continued the warlike traditions of his house and brought Kaliṅga, the part which was still outside Maurya dominions, under his rule. But he was not satisfied with political unity alone. He wanted that his empire should be one in religion as well, so that he could bind the hearts of his subjects to himself by more substantial ties. Aśōka's Kaliṅga edict reveals that he was stricken with remorse at so much blood that had been shed during his Kaliṅga campaign.[2] Besides, with no more territories of importance left to be subjugated, he could now well afford to be a pacifist. The religion of the Buddha suited his present mood. He accepted it, and wished that his subjects should share its blessings with him. With this end, he created a class of officers, the Dharma-Mahāmātras. For he says : " Everywhere in my dominions the Yuktas, the Rājūka, and the Prādeśika shall set out on a complete tour (throughout their charges) every five years for this very purpose, (viz.) for the following instruction in morality as well as for other business."[3] "The Lajūkas also who are occupied with many hundred thousands of men,—these too were ordered by me : ' In such and such a manner exhort ye the people who are devoted to morality.' "[4] " For, as one feels confident after having entrusted (his) child to an intelligent nurse, (thinking): 'the intelligent nurse will be able to keep my child well,' so the Lajūkas were appointed by me for the welfare and happiness of the country-people."[5] Thus religion was to be one more link in the chain of allegiance to the throne.

Edicts announcing the precepts of the new creed were set up in all important places. Fourteen of them were carved at Junāgaḍha, the capital of the Mauryan viceroy in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. It was at this time when Aśōka was making frantic efforts to propagate Buddhism, that Piṅgala, his feudatory in the west, undertook a journey to Pāṭaliputra, to wean the emperor, it would seem, from what he considered his mistaken zeal for the new faith. Piṅgala had for sometime himself been a convert to Natthika-ditthi,[6] a sort of atheism, which he had learnt from his general Nandaka. Probably he wished to demonstrate to the emperor the mischief that would ensue in following the policy of promoting one creed at the expense of another, and that the wiser course for the state was to be laic. But the emperor could not be deterred from his course. On the contrary, Piṅgala himself was so overwhelmed by the infectious zeal of Aśōka that he was won over to Buddhism.

These pacific tendencies of Aśōka and his adoption of the Buddhist faith, it is believed, resulted in the rapid collapse and disintegration of the Mauryan

1 Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.*, line 8.
2 Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, I, p. 22 (*R. E.*, XIII).
3 *Ibid.*, p. 29 (*R. E.*, 3 c.).
4 *Ibid.*, *R. E.*, 7 (p. 134).
5 *Ibid.*, *R. E.*, 4, I (p. 124).
6 *Pettavathu*, pp. 57-61

empire[1] immediately on his death, in or about 233-232 B.C.[2] The centre was ruled over by his successors Daśaratha and Samprati, and according to the Purāṇic account[3] king Bṛihadratha was the last ruler in the line.[4] The latter ruled over a much diminished empire and was finally assassinated by his commander-in-chief, the Śuṅga chief Puṣyamitra, who seized the throne of Pāṭaliputra. Thus the centre of the vast empire of Aśōka passed to the Śuṅgas.[5] In the south and the south-east the Āndhras and the Kaliṅgas carved out independent kingdoms. While the north-west of which Kāṭhiāwāḍ was probably an appanage declared its independence under one of the descendants of Aśōka himself. These western territories comprised the kingdom of Gāndhāra, and according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, they were under Aśōka's son Virasena.[6] Saubhāgasena, who was ruling over this kingdom in 206 B.C.[7] when Antiochus, the Greek kıng of Bactria invaded the country, may have been a son of this Virasena.[8] Antiochus probably wished to emulate the example of Alexander the Great. But in Saubhāgasena, whom the Greeks call 'Sophagasenus,' he met a powerful rival; or else he would not have given up the original intention with which he had started, and retraced his steps contenting himself with the gift of elephants from the Indian potentate. Says Polybius, "He (Antiochus the Great) crossed the Caucasus (Hindukush) and descended into India; renewed his friendship with 'Sophagasenus,' the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether, and having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army, leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure which this king had agreed to hand over to him."[9] Shortly, after this invasion one Euthydemus of the Magnesias[10] made a successful bid for the crown of

[1] Banerji, *Prehistoric Ancient and Hindu India*, p. 92: "Aśōka's adoption of the Buddhist faith and his intolerance of the orthodox Indo-Āryan religious practices must have produced great disaffection throughout the entire empire, just as the bigotry of Aurangzeb caused the Rajput war and subsequently paralysed the Mughals."

[2] Allan, *C. S. H. I.*, p. 53; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 422; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

[3] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 30; this account of the Purāṇas is also supported by Bāṇas *Harṣacharita*, a work written in the seventh century A.D.

[4] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 422.

[5] As stated by Mr. Raychaudhuri (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 399): "The disintegration (of the Mauryan empire) which set in 206 B.C. was accelerated by the invasions led by the Yavanas referred to in the *Garga Saṁhita* and the *Mahābhāṣya* of Pātañjali." Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 30.

[6] Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[7] The Śuṅga kings were ruling only at Magadha and had nothing to do with Surāṣṭra, a country which was probably included in Saubhāgasena's territories; Raychaudhari, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

[8] Prof. F. W. Thomas has suggested that Saubhāgasena may have been a grandson of Aśōka, *vide* Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[9] Polybius, XI, 34; Ch. XVII, p. 442.

[10] Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 74.

Bactria.[1] He had been casting wistful glances on " the land of the Five Rivers " and sent his son Demetrius[2] to conquer the north-west part of India in c. 185 B.C. Demetrius was accompanied by his son Demetrius II, his able general Menander, and Apollodotus who was probably a brother of Demetrius.[3] He was, indeed, very fortunate in commanding the services of these able lieutenants.[4] The resistance of Saubhāgasena or his successor proved futile,[5] and Demetrius himself subjugated the Indus Valley,[6] while Apollodotus and Menander reduced Rajputāna and Sagala (Sialkot between Chenab and Rāvi). Following up their victory the Greeks under Apollodotus advanced as far as Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Gujarāt.[7] Apollodotus made Ujjain his headquarters from which he administered his province, which seems to have included Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Gujarāt.[8] In the meanwhile, Menander had penetrated into the Magadha country and was appointed viceroy at Pāṭaliputra of the eastern part of the Greek Empire.[9] But shortly after these successes in India Demetrius was killed[10] and Bactria was seized by Eucratides.[11] The Greek viceroys became independent in their respective provinces. Their independent status may be gathered from their coins found in various parts of their dominions. After the death of Apollodotus Menander took possession of the western provinces and on his death in 148 B.C. the kingdom passed to his son Soter I. Under Soter Kāṭhiāwāḍ seems to have been administered by his satrap Apollodotus II, and it is his coins which were later imitated by the Śaka rulers of Surāṣṭra and Mālavā, Castāna and Nahāpāna.[12] A few coins of Eucratides of Bactria are also found in this region. But in the absence of any evidence of his sway over the country, it may be said that they were possibly left here by the Greek merchants, who must have brought them for the purpose of trade. The power of the Greeks in India, however, had by now already begun to decline, and towards the close of the first century B.C.[13] they were replaced by the Pārtho-Scythians who entered India from eastern Irān, while the Greeks were confined only to the mountain-valleys of Afghānistan.[14]

In the part of Irān where they finally settled, the Scythians or the Śakas had freely intermarried with the Pārthians and had been under the ægis of the

1 Strabo II Lib. IX, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 440.
2 *Op. cit.*, Lib. XI, *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 444.
3 Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
4 *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 422.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 443.
6 Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-41.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 150; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 317.
8 Schoof, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 148.
9 Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 152.
10 *Ibid.*, p. 167.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 230; Sankalia, *Archæology of Gujarat*, p. 9; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, pp. 16-18.
12 *Ibid.*
13 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 65.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 66.

Pārthian rule welded into a united people. This Pārtho-Scythian state was at first tributary to the Pārthian emperor Mithradates II, but later shook off the Pārthian yoke; and then started their series of inroads into India.[1] For it is found that while in Pārthia itself the title of " king of kings " was claimed by no ruler from the death of Mithradates II in 88 B.C. to the accession of Mithradates III in 57 B.C. during the same period this very title was held simultaneously by two members of the Pārtho-Scythian royal house, which held sway over Draṅgiana, Arachosia and the Indian conquests. The first "king of kings" was in eastern Irān with a prince of the royal family associated with him in his government. The coinage bore the names of both, the former's in Greek on the obverse, and the latter's in Kharōṣṭhi on the reverse, and while the king ruled in Draṅgiana, the prince governed Arachosia, in which doubtless Indo-Scythia, that is to say Sind, was included. The second " king of kings " was in India who ruled with the aid of the Satraps and who before obtaining the sovereign dignity, generally exercised the functions of prince-consort in Irān.[2]

The earliest of these Indian " king of kings " was Maues of the coins who is identified with king Mogha of the Taxilā plate dated 78 of an unspecified era with a Pārthian month, which must have commenced towards 150 B.C. and which probably marks the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistan after its incorporation into the Pārthian empire by Mithradates I in 150 B.C. Accordingly the inscription would be dated in c. 72 B.C., a year which may well have fallen in the reign of Maues. Undoubtedly, Maues-Mogha invaded India after the close of the reign of Mithradates II. His coins are close imitations of those of the Greek[3] dynasty which he had supplanted. He occupied Gandhāra and drove a wedge between the Greeks of Kābul and those of eastern Panjāb. Under Azes I and Azileses the eastern Panjāb was brought under Scythian rule. They continued the coinage of Maues, but added the type of the Athenian Promachos, characteristic of the house of Apollodotus and Menander. Azileses was associated in his government by Azes I, who succeeded him in c. 58 B.C. The latter ruled alone for some time and then had another Azes, Azes II, associated with him whom Gondopharnes succeeded in A.D. 19.[4]

Like Alexander, the Mauryas, and the Indo-Greeks before them, the Scythiao-Pārthian emperors followed the Achaemenid system of government by Satraps. We are not here concerned with the Satraps of the North, who made themselves independent in course of time, eventually to disappear with the coming of the Kuśānas. We are only concerned here with the Satraps who

[1] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 569; De La Vallee Poussin, *L'Inde Aux Temps Des Mauryas*, p. 266.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 570; De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 267; Sten Konow, " Takht-i-Bahi record of the year 103," *C. I. I.*, II, i, xlvi.

built up an empire further south-west at Ujjain, an empire which endured till the end of the fourth century, and included besides Mālavā, the whole of the coastal region of Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Gujarāt. These Satraps are known in the history of India as Western Kṣatrapas in contradistinction to those of the North. They could well have entered Surāṣṭra by way of the Indus. But the conquest of Surāṣṭra does not seem to have been effected in this manner. There is a close resemblance[1] between the coins of Bhumaka and Nahāpāna and those of the Northern Kṣatrapas especially of Mathurā (Muttrā). This similarity while it points to the fact that they drew their inspiration from Mathurā, would also show that the extension of the Scythian dominions towards the south-west was effected from that centre.[2]

The Kṣaharatas are the family that actually carried the Scythian standards into Mālavā and Surāṣṭra. The names of only two of its members have come down to us: Bhumaka and Nahāpāna. There is no documentary evidence to show what power was in actual possession of Surāṣṭra at the time. But we do know that Mālavā was then in the possession of the Śatavāhanas and the wide provenance of coins of Nahāpāna in this province as well as in Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Gujarāt would suggest that it was from them that the Kṣaharatas wrested these countries.[3] It is possible that with the decline of their power in India Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ slipped from the grasp of the Greeks, only to fall into the hands of the Śatavāhanas when the latter acquired possession of Mālavā some time before 125 B.C.[4] Of Bhumaka, the first-named member of the Kṣaharata line, we have only the name. Very little beyond that has come down to us. But Nahāpāna appears to have been a ruler of conspicuous ability. The steady growth of his power is borne out by the titles which he assumed. While in the forty-second year he called himself simply " King Kṣtrapa Śatrap "[5], in the forty-sixth year he could assume the style of " King grand Satrap master " rāja Mahā Kṣtrapa Swāmi.[6] This would show that he ruled with independent rather than with dependent authority, a circumstance which was made possible by the declining power of his own Pārtho-Scythian overlords who before long, perhaps in his own lifetime, were supplanted as an imperial power by the Kuśānas. Nahāpāna's inscriptions, again, testify to the steady extension of his dominions. There are eight of them at Nasik,

1 Disc, bow and arrow to be found in the medallion of Sparilizes and Azes, the Pārtho-Scythian king of kings correspond to the arrow, disc and thunderbolt in the coins of the Kṣaharatas. Then as for the language, it is seen that in the legend on the coins of Bhumaka the same importance is given to Kharōṣṭı as to Brahmi. But already in the legends on the coins of Nahāpāna Kharōṣṭi comes to be assigned a secondary place; while it disappears altogether after Chastana. There is thus little doubt that the coinage of the Kṣtrapas is of northern origin. Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, p. 371; cf. De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

2 De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, pp. 32-33; Gopalachari, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 39 and 47.

5 Rapson, *Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty*, p. CVIII; Rapson, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 371-374.

6 *Ibid.*

Junār and Kārli[1] which prove that his kingdom extended from Poona in the heart of the Śatavāhana empire, and Surpāraka in the Konkan coast to Mandasor in Mālavā, and even further north as far as Ajmer.[2] The glory of Nahāpāna's reign may also be estimated by the splendour of the monuments which were erected during his reign and which rank among the best in India. One of these is the Buddhist temple cut in the rock at Kārli (in the Poona district), the immense nave of which, according to Dr. Jouveau Dubreuil,[3] equals in grandeur that of the Gothic churches. It is also noteworthy that the monuments containing the inscriptions of Nahāpāna at Junār, Kārli and Nāsik are all in the same style.[4]

Nahāpāna would also appear to have inaugurated an era of his own, the Śaka era, which as Mons. A. M. Boyr has demonstrated dated from the commencement of his reign.[5]

Nahāpāna's reign, however, ended in failure. He sustained a disastrous defeat towards the end at the hands of his contemporary Gautamiputra Śrī Sātakaraṇi[6] who boasts in his Nāsik *praśasti* that he "destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, Palhavas. . . . . (and) rooted out the Kṣaharata race and restored the glory of the Sātavāhana family."[7] The defeat of Kṣaharatas must have taken place some time after A.D. 124,[8] which was the forty-sixth year of Nahāpāna, in the eighteenth regnal year of the Sātakarṇi monarch. The inscription further relates that the latter was the king of 'Asika, Asaka, Mulaka,

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1 Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Caves at Karle," *E. I.*, VII, p. 56; *A. S. W. I.*, IV, p. 91.

2 De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

3 Jouveau Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

4 *Ibid.*

5 R. D. Banerjee, Nilakanta Sastri and Jouveau Dubreuil are, however, inclined to hold that it is more convenient to connect the dates given in Nahāpāna's records with his regnal years; in any case, whether it is the Vikrama era (58 B.C.), or a Scythian era, there is bound to be a gap between Nahāpāna and Chastana, and the former has to be placed in the beginning of the Christian Era between 25 and 50. The arguments advanced are as follows: if you place Nahāpāna in Śaka 46 (=A.D. 122) the events which are crowded between Nahāpāna and the Girnār inscription of Rudradaman dated Śaka 72 (=A.D. 150) will be too many But Mons. Boyer has shown with a thorough-going analysis that they can be made to fit into without inconvenience between the two limits. The Khakharata or the Saharata whom the Satakarṇi king boasts of having destroyed is Nahāpāna, and what is more when it is realised that the Kheta or field of Uṣavadatta, the son-in-law of Nahāpāna mentioned in Nāsik inscriptions Nos. 5, 7, 9, 10 and of Kārli No. 6, is the same field of Usabadatta which was donated by the Satakaraṇi monarch as related in the Nāsik inscription No. 13, the probability becomes a certainty. Add to this is identification of Nahāpāna with the Mambanous of Periplus (A.D. 60 or 80). De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-286.

6 Jouveau-Dubreuil, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

7 Senart, "The Inscriptions in the Cave at Nāsik," *E. I.*, VII, p. 61.

8 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa, Vidarbha, Ākarāvanti.[1] It leaves no room for doubt that the entire Kṣaharata kingdom was overrun by the Śatavāhanas.

But the Śatavāhana hold on the northern provinces of the Kṣaharata kingdom like Surāṣtra, Mālavā and Gujarāt could not have been as firm as that on the Deccan. For the coins of Nahāpāna that were restruck by Gautamiputra have come so far only from the Nāsik district,[2] a circumstance which would seem to suggest that the Śatavāhanas were not long in possession of their northern conquests.[3] In fact, we learn from the Andhau inscriptions[4] that as early as Ś.S. 52 or A.D. 130 i.e., only six years after its conquest by Gautamiputra, Mālavā had been lost to the Śatavāhanas, and was ruled conjointly by king Chaṣṭāna and his grandson Rudradāman, who are both styled Kṣtrapas. This foreign title, it has been pointed out, and the use of the Kharoṣṭi alphabet on his coins are sufficient to show that Chaṣṭāna was a viceroy of some Northern power,[5] and could have had nothing to do with the Śatavāhanas.[6] Actually, however, there is an indication that he may have been of the same lineage as Nahāpāna. For his father's name Yaśamōtika is the Scythian equivalent of Bhumaka.[7] We know that Mālava was included in Nahāpāna's kingdom. Was Chaṣṭāna perchance its viceroy stationed at Ujjaini? Be that as it may, within twenty-five years of the resounding victories of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, Rudradāman had not only fully retrieved the losses sustained by his house but extended his rule over a vast empire which stretched to the lower Indus valley in the north-west, and central India in the east, and comprised the entire coastal region of Kāṭhiāwāḍ, Gujarāt and the Koṅkaṇ

1 According to Dr. Raychaudhuri (*op. cit.*, p. 411) these places were: Asika (Arśika of *Pātañjali*, IV, 22), Asaka (Asmaka on the river Godāvari, i.e., Mahārāṣtra), Mulaka (the district round Paiṭhan), Suratha (Kāṭhiāwāḍ), Kukura (in western or central India probably near the Pāriyatra or the western Vindhyas), Aparānta (North Konkan), Anupa (district around Māhiśmati on the Narmadā), Vidarbha (Berār), and Akara-Avanti (East and West Mālavā), while Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 23) calls them: Suratha=Surāśtra=Kāṭhiāwāḍ; Ākarāvanti=Mālavā and Aparānta=the region along the coast, north of Bombay.

2 Actually from a place called Jogalthembi.

3 Senart, *op. et loc. cit.;* Bhandarkar, "Deccan of the Satavāhana Period," *I. A.*, XLVII, pp. 69 and 149; XLVIII, p. 77 ff.

4 Banerji, "The Andhau Inscriptions of the Time of Rudradāman," *E. I.*, XVI, p. 19.

5 Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 424-425.

6 From the symbol "Chaitya with three arches" on the coins of Chaṣṭāna, a symbol which is also seen on the Śatavāhana coins, Dr. Jouveau-Dubreuil (*op. cit.*, p. 28) concludes that Chaṣṭāna was a Satrap of Gautamiputra. The inference, however, is unwarranted, because Chaṣṭāna, being undoubtedly a Kṣatrapa, belonged to the political system of the North.

7 De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, pp. 284 and 286; Dr. Raychaudhuri in disagreeing with this view observes "identity of meaning of names need not necessarily prove identity of person," (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 423, note 1).

probably as far south as Gōkarṇa in Kanara.[1] Of the place names occurring in his inscriptions Saurāṣṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anupa and Ākarāvaṁti, had actually formed part of Gautamiputra's dominions, and must have, therefore, been conquered either from that king or his immediate successor.

Rudradāman raised the Kṣtrapa state to a height of power and glory never before attained. The Junāgaḍh rock inscription of ś.s. 72 attests this power, when it says that he " was resorted to by all castes (who) chose (him) as their lord to protect them "[2] and that he " himself has acquired the name of Mahākṣatrapa."[3] The inscription further adds that the Śātakaraṇi, the lord of the Dakṣiṇāpatha, i.e., Deccan, was twice defeated by him but spared because of their near relationship.[4] This vanquished Śātakarṇi was presumably Gautamiputra's son Vasiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi, who was also Rudradāman's son-in-law.[5]

Rudradāman apparently held court at Ujjain and governed the provinces through his viceroys. Saurāṣṭra and Ānartta (district round Vaḍnagar) were under his Pahlava amātya Suviśākha (the son of Kulaipa). The latter had constructed a new dam on the ancient Sudarśana lake. An idea of his benevolent administration may be obtained from the fact that this Sudarśana embankment was constructed with money that came from the royal exchequer and that the people of the town and the province were not called upon to bear the burden of the expenses by taxation, forced labour (viṣṭi), benevolences (praṇaya) and the like.[6]

After a splendid reign of over a quarter of a century, Rudradāman was succeeded by his eldest son Dāmaghasda I.[7] According to Rapson, our chief authority on this period, the reign of Dāmaghasda was " followed by a war of succession between his son Jīvadāman and his grand-uncle Rudrasiṁha."[8] The struggle ended in favour of the latter,[9] but it had already undermined the royal prestige and as has often happened, power passed to the military chiefs. It is during Rudrasiṁha's reign that we notice the rise of the Abhira

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[1] Kane, " The Ancient History and Geography of Konkan," *Pro. Tran. of the First Oriental Conference*, Poona, Vol. II, (1919) pp. 391-92. MM. Dr. P. V. Kane is inclined to identify Kukura mentioned as having formed part of Rudradaman's empire in his Junagadh inscription with Konkan, the meaning of Kukura being " that portion of Aparānta called Kukura."

[2] Kielhorn, " Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman; the year 72," *E. I.*, VIII, p. 36 ff., line 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, line 15.

[4] *Ibid.*, line 12.

[5] Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 222; Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 425; Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[6] Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.*, line 15; cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 39.

[7] Rapson, "The Coinage of the Mahākṣtrapas and Kṣatrapas of Surāṣṭra and Mālavā," *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, pp. 357-407.

[8] *Ibid.*, Banerji and Sukthankar, " Three Kshatrapa Inscriptions," *E. I.*, XVI, p. 236; Bühler, " A New Kṣatrapa Inscription," *I. A.*, X, p. 157 ff.

[9] Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. cxxviii.

chiefs in the guise no doubt only of Senapatis or generals.[1] But it was not difficult for them to turn the weakness of the royal house to their own advantage. There is an inscription of king Īśvarasēna, an Abhira, in cave X at Nāsik, which has been assigned on palæographical grounds to ś.s. 100 or A.D. 178.[2] The inscription while designating Īśvarasēna as king does not give the same title to his father Śivadatta, a circumstance from which it has been concluded that Īśvarasēna was the first member of the family to enjoy a regal status. No doubt his kingdom had been carved out round about Nāsik mostly from the territories of the Śatavāhanas, who were also declining during this period. However, it was not long before the Abhiras attempted to impose their sovereignty over the dominions of their erstwhile masters. And from the provanence of the coinage of Īśvaradatta, who, it is agreed on all hands, was an Abhira king ruling between A.D. 236 and 239, in Mālavā, Kāṭhiāwāḍ and Gujarāt,[3] it has been supposed that he actually brought or sought to bring all these regions under his sway.

Rapson has observed that from A.D. 295 to c. 340 there were no Mahākṣtrapas. The elder branch of the family came to an end after A.D. 305 and passed by an obscure transition to a new line of Satraps and Great Satraps. The title of Mahākṣatrapa, which had fallen out of use all this while, was revived some time in A.D. 348 by Rudrasēna III, who styled himself Rāja Mahā-Kṣatrapa.

Rudrasiṁha III was the last Kṣtrapa king. He seems to have been a man of some ability. He probably wished to make himself independent of the Guptas who under their great king Samudragupta had compelled his predecessor Rudrasēna to acknowledge the Gupta supremacy.[4] An opportunity offered itself when Samudragupta's powerful personality was removed by death and the Gupta throne was filled by his weak and incompetent son Rāmagupta.[5] Encouraged by the success which attended his bold assertion of independence, the Śaka king next invaded the Gupta dominions.[6] The

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1 Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. cxxiii.

2 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1913-14, pp. 230-231

3 Mr. Bhagwanlal Indraji (*J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 657) and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*A. S. Report*) identify him with Īśvarasena of the Nāsik inscription. Rapson, while agreeing that he was an Abhira and even of the same dynasty as that of Nāsik, is of the opinion that he was not identical with Īśvarasena, and places him (Īśvaradatta) between A.D. 236 and 239. Rapson, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, etc., pp. cxxxv-vi.

4 Banerjee, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 20; Dandekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 25; Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 11.

5 Altekar, " A New Gupta king ", *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, p. 223 ff ; Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* (B. G. O. S., 1929), p. 86; Sarasvati, " Devichandraguptam," *I. A.*, LII, p. 183.

6 Bhandarkar, *Malavia Comm. Vol.*, p. 205; Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 18-27; Smith, " Revised Chronology of the Early or the Imperial Gupta Dynasty," *I. A.*, XXXI, p. 259; Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii; Banerjee, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 220; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, XX, p. 9.

Śaka armies seem to have carried all before them and compelled the Gupta monarch to agree to a humiliating treaty. By the terms of this treaty Rāmagupta consented to give away his queen Dhruvadēvi to his victor.[1] But Chandragupta, the younger brother of Rāmagupta,[2] was touched to the quick and incensed at this insult to his family, and according to a tradition recorded in various literary sources,[3] going upto the eleventh century A.D., he killed his brother, married his widow and vanquished the Śaka king.[4]

This event is placed in the year A.D. 378.[5] Chandragupta II followed up his victory and before long dislodged the Śakas from Mālavā. For in an inscription at Udayagiri in Mālavā dated A.D. 401 we find his feudatory Sanakāṇikar Mahārāja acknowledging his overlordship.[6] From Mālavā. the Guptas carried their onslaughts into Surāṣṭra and by A.D. 409[7] they were in undisputed possession of Surāṣṭra. According to the bardic account the conquest of Surāṣṭra was affected by Chandragupta's son prince Kumāragupta.[8] He was appointed viceroy of the province, and the house of the western Kṣatrapas which had ruled with power and glory for a period of well-nigh four centuries was brought to a close.

Of the history of Surāṣṭra during Kumāragupta's reign we know very little. But it is on record that in the succeeding reign of his son Skandagupta Surāṣṭra was ruled over by Parṇadatta who was one of his viceroys.[9] Surāṣṭra formed an important province of the Gupta empire, thanks, no doubt, to its position as an emporium of foreign trade. What the inscription says, therefore, is not surprising that " Skandagupta had to deliberate for nights and days " before he could make a choice of the incumbent for this office.[10] Parṇadatta signalised his administration of Surāṣṭra by the repairs he carried out to the

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1 Altekar, *op. et loc. cit.*, Rāmachandra and Guṇachandra, *op. et loc. cit.*; Sarasvati, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 It is more likely that the name of this king was Rāmagupta rather than Kācagupta, as it is clearly given as Rāma and not Kāca in the Devichandragupta. Secondly, the Muslim chronicles also mention this name as Rawwal, which appears to be a corruption of the name Rāma and not Kāca (cf. Elliot, *History of India*, I, pp. 110-112). These two authorities, viz., Viśākhadatta and the Muslim chronicles are the earliest and the latest sources of information, and they specify the precise name of this Gupta ruler as Rāmagupta.

3 Bhagwanlal Indraji, *J. R. A. S.*, 1890, p. 639, 1899, p. 357; Bhandarkar, " Sanjan Plates of Amōghavarṣa," *E. I.*, XVIII, pp. 255 and 48; Bāṇa, *Harṣacharita*, p. 194; Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamimāṁsā*, Ch. IX, p. 47.

4 Elliot, *op. et loc. cit.*

5 Banerjee, *op. et loc. cit.*; Dandekar, *A History of the Guptas*, p. 108.

6 Fleet, " Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II," *C. I. I.* III, p. 21.

7 Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 288; Allan, *op. cit.*, p. xxxviii.

8 Watson, " Legends of the Earlier Chudasama Ras of Junagadh," *I. A.*, II, pp. 312 ff.

9 Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

10 *Ibid.*; Parṇadatta was also called Farnadata in the Persian chronicles, *cf.* Dandekar, *op. et loc. cit.*; Jarl Charpentier " Farna Data, Neberg ", *J. R. A. S.*, 1931, p. 40.

Sudarśana lake and by erecting a temple to the god Viṣṇu.[1] He was probably followed by Bhaṭārka, as viceroy.[1] For though we have no certain date for the latter, the earliest known date for Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha, his son, who was the third ruler in succession, is available, viz., V.S. 183, i.e., c. A.D. 502.[2] If we allow a period of thirty years for the first two rulers (viz., Bhaṭārka and Dharasena I) we arrive at A.D. 472 as the starting point of the career of Bhaṭārka. Now the abovementioned Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Parṇadatta is dated G.S. 138, i.e., A.D. 457[3]. This surely makes him a predecessor of Bhaṭārka.

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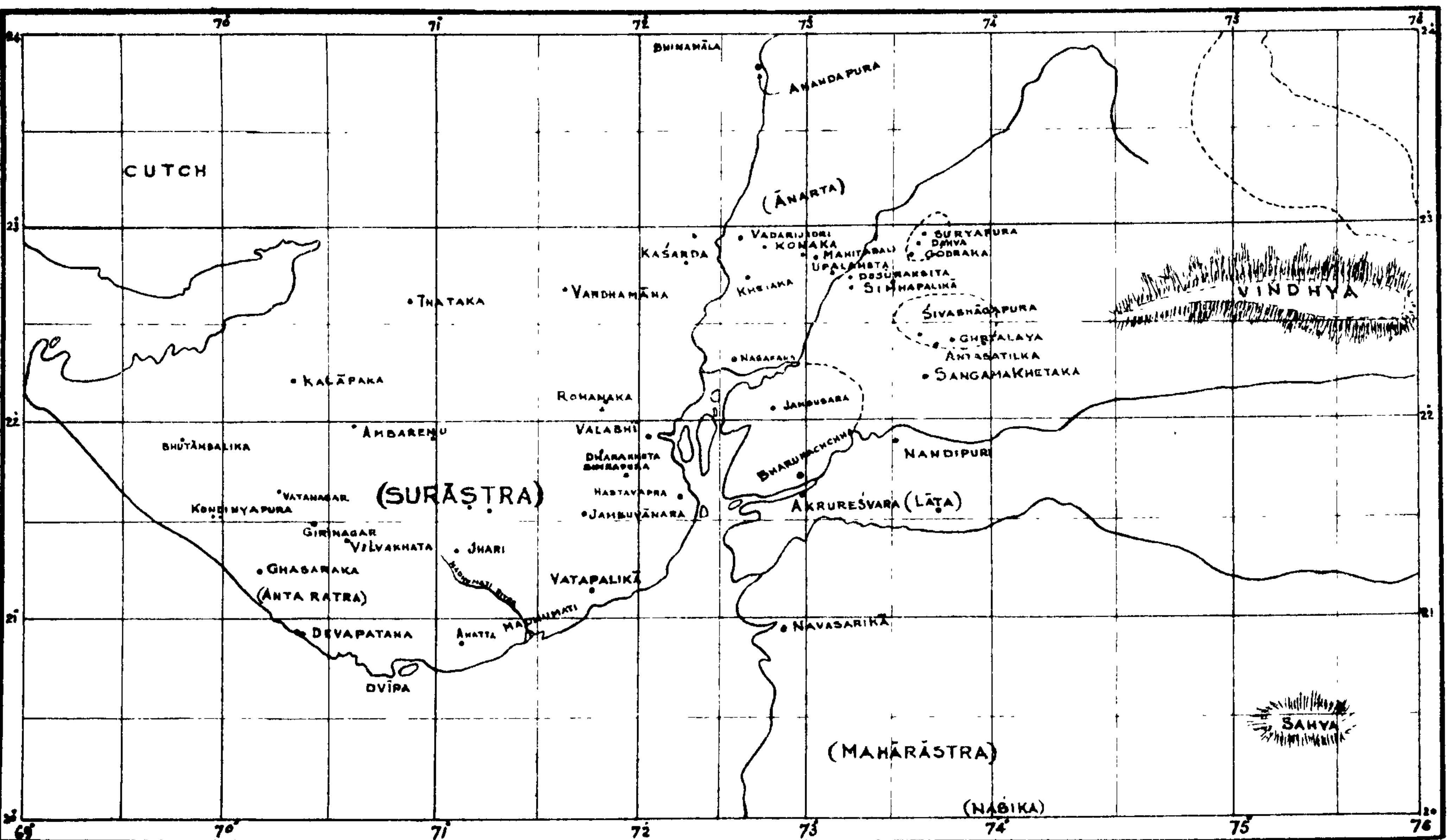
1 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.;* Acharya, *op. cit.*

2 Jackson, "The New Valabhī Copper-Plate," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, p. 1 ff; Barnett, "Bhamodar Mohota Plate," *E. I.*, I, pp. 17-19; Acharya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, No. 16.

3 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*; Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*

PART I

HISTORY



SCALE: ONE INCH = 32 MILES

A MAP OF SURĀṢṬRA
SHOWING ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

CHAPTER I

ORIGIN OF THE MAITRAKAS

The family to which Bhaṭārka belonged is given in the copper-plate grants of his successors as Maitraka. The inscriptions begin with the expression " Prasabha-praṇata-amitrāṇāṁ Maitrakāṇāmatula-bala-saptana-maṇḍala-abhōga-saṁsakta-saṁprahāra-sata-labdha-pretapaḥ-śrī-senāpati-Bhaṭārka." But it was not till comparatively recently that this expression was interpreted correctly. At first ' prasabha-praṇata-amitrāṇāṁ-Maitrakāṇām ' was construed with the word 'maṇḍala' and the word 'saptana' was misread as—' saṁpanna.' The word ' Maitraka ' was taken as a common noun derived from ' Mitra ', with the result that the passage was wrongly translated as "(Bhaṭārka) had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of Maitrakas who were endowed with incomparable courage."[1] According to this earlier reading the Maitrakas were believed to be a powerful tribe who were defeated by Bhaṭārka. This reading seems to have been responsible for the view held by Drs. Fleet,[2] Bhagavanlal Indraji and others[3] who believed that while the family of Bhaṭārka himself was indigenous, the Maitraka tribe was of foreign origin. The reading was corrected by later scholars,[4] and it is now definitely accepted that Bhaṭārka belonged to the Maitraka family: " (In the race) of the Maitrakas, who prostrated (their) enemies by force, (was born) the devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the glorious (senāpati) Bhaṭārka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles, fought with a vast crowd of enemies of unequalled strength."[5] But none of the early scholars had regarded the family of Bhaṭārka as of foreign origin. Their statement referred only to the people conquered by that monarch. Hence it is natural that their views about the Maitrakas should have been influenced to a considerable extent by this circumstance. Now that we know that Bhaṭārka himself belonged to the Maitraka family, their views can no longer be cited to support the foreign origin of the Maitrakas.

The main consideration that led the earlier scholars into regarding the Maitrakas as foreigners was their supposed connection with the Mihiras and their predilection for Sun-worship. While, of course, both Mitra and Mihira

[1] Mandalik, " Three Walabhi Copper-plates," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 346; Keilhorn, " A Copper-plate Grant of Siladitya I of Valabhi," *I. A.*, XIV, p. 327; Bhandarkar, " A Valabhi Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 14; Buhler, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 106.

[2] Fleet, " Sanskrit and Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VIII, p. 303.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, IX, p. 479; I, p. 81.

[4] It was Mr. Mandalik (cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 346) who first suggested that the word ' Maitraka ' should be taken as a proper noun and it was accepted by other scholars. For a similar construction is seen in the copperplates of other dynasties such as that of the Vākāṭaka, the Traikuṭaka and others, thus showing the popular usage of the genetive plural to denote the name of the dynasty of the donor.

[5] Hultzsch, " Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, III, p. 322.

are synonyms for the 'Sun', the derivative Maitraka is never used in Sanskrit literature in the sense of Sun-worshipper.[1] Even however admitting for the sake of argument that the term has this meaning, that thesis falls to the ground, for we find that the royal religion of the Maitrakas was Śaivism and that neither Bhaṭārka himself nor any of his immediate successors was a devotee of the Sun. Out of the nineteen Valabhī kings only one, king Dharapaṭṭa, fifth in order of succession, is styled a worshipper of the Sun.[2] But as the latter was neither the founder of the dynasty nor a ruler of great importance, it is sufficiently clear that the designation of the Maitrakas is not to be connected in any way with the worship of the Sun.[3]

Mr. Jagan Nath tries to equate the designation with the word 'Maitreyaka',[4] meaning a particular caste whose business it was to praise great men, and concludes that the Maitrakas may have been the bards of the Guptas. However, in the light of the information supplied by the Manu Smṛti[5] and the Vaijayanti,[6] it is clear that the Maitraka tribe was different from the Maitreyakas in origin as well as in the profession of its members. According to the Manu Smṛti a Maitreyaka "ringing a bell at the appearance of dawn, continually praises (great) men";[7] and a Maitra[8] was born of one of the five Vratyas of the Vaiṣya caste.[9] The Vaijayanti explains the Maitras as those born of a remarried Vaiṣya (Vaiṣyapūravikā, i.e., a mother who had formerly married a Vaiṣya) to a Vaiṣya-Vratya.[10] On the point of the respective professions the former work is silent; but the latter represents the Maitrakas as people serving as

1 Jaggan Nath, "Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhī," *I. C.*, V, p. 408.

2 Bühler, "Valabhī Grant of Dharasena II," *I. A.*, VII, p. 71, line 11.

3 Bhau Daji believed that the Maitrakas succeeded the Shahas. This conclusion is drawn from a Valabhī plate which is not translated properly. According to it the Shahas were triumphed over by the Sun-worshiping people. But now that we know that the Maitrakas were not a Sun-worshipping tribe the theory falls to the ground. Cf. "A brief survey of Indian Chronology from the 1st of the Christian Era to the 12th," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VIII, p. 244.

4 Jagan Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

5 *Manu Smṛti*, X, 33.

6 *Vaijayanti*, manuṣyādhyāya, 103b, 105, (64-121), 53-9, (Compiled by Yādavaprakāśa).

7 *Manu Smṛti*, X, 33, (p. 410).

8 The words 'Maitra' and 'Maitraka' are identical according to the lexicon Vaijayanti (cf. 103b, 105, 64-121 of the Manuṣyadhyāya). The suffix (taddhita) 'ka' is often added (to a substantive) in the Sanskrit literature without changing the original meaning of a word.

9 *Manu*, X, 23, (p. 407). Dr. Kane explains the Vratyas as a group of people who spoke the same language as orthodox Āryans but did not follow their discipline about habit.

In the *Manusmṛti* (II, 42; X, 20; XI, 63) and the Vaijayanti, the Vratyas are described as those who have not undergone *Upanayana* ceremony in due time and hence were not privileged to receive the sacred Savitri verse called the *Gāyatri*.

That they were known as Vratya Vaiṣyas suggests their outlandish character. However, their customs and manners were not quite consistent with and similar to the Vaiṣyas, hence the Smṛtikārs classed them as Vratya Varṇas. Although they were Vaiṣyas they followed the profession of Kṣatriyas and hence called Kṣatriyas by Hiun Tsiang.

10 *Vaijayanti*, Manuṣyādhyaya, 53-59.

worshippers in Buddhist temples.[1] Let the matter, however, not rest on this testimony. Even grammatically the two words have different derivations. Maitraka comes from 'Mitra', while Maitreyaka is derived from 'Mitrā'. Hence this suggestion also cannot be accepted.

The copper-plate grants of the Maitrakas do not assist us in tracing the origin of the dynasty as such, but simply tell us that they were a warlike tribe, distinguished for great power, whose centre of activity was Valabhī in Surāṣṭra and that their family religion was Śaivism. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang describes them also as Kṣatriyas.[2] In the later Mahāyānic work, the Mañju-śrī-Mūla-Kalpa,[3] the chronicler while dealing with the provincial history of western India represents them as the Varavatya Yādavas.[4] This Buddhist tradition is corroborated by a Jaina tradition recorded in the Śatruñjaya-Mahātmya[5] which describes one king Śīlāditya of Valabhī as the ornament of the Yādava family of the Lunar race.[6]

Thus, without going into details about the meaning of the words we may conclude that the Maitrakas were a Kṣatriya clan of the Yādava race, and that their origin may probably be traced to the Mitra dynasty that ruled over the region round about Mathurā. This conclusion is supported by scholars who have based themselves on the evidence of some coins issued by kings whose names ended in 'Mitra'.[7]

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1 *Vaijayanti*, Manuṣyādhyāya, 103.

The Gurjara records refer to the Valabhī kings simply as the lords of Valabhī and do not call them Maitrakas. The Vāyu Purāṇa does not mention the name of the Maitrakas among the numerous royal dynasties it enumerates.

2 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246.

3 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 26, v. 605-9.

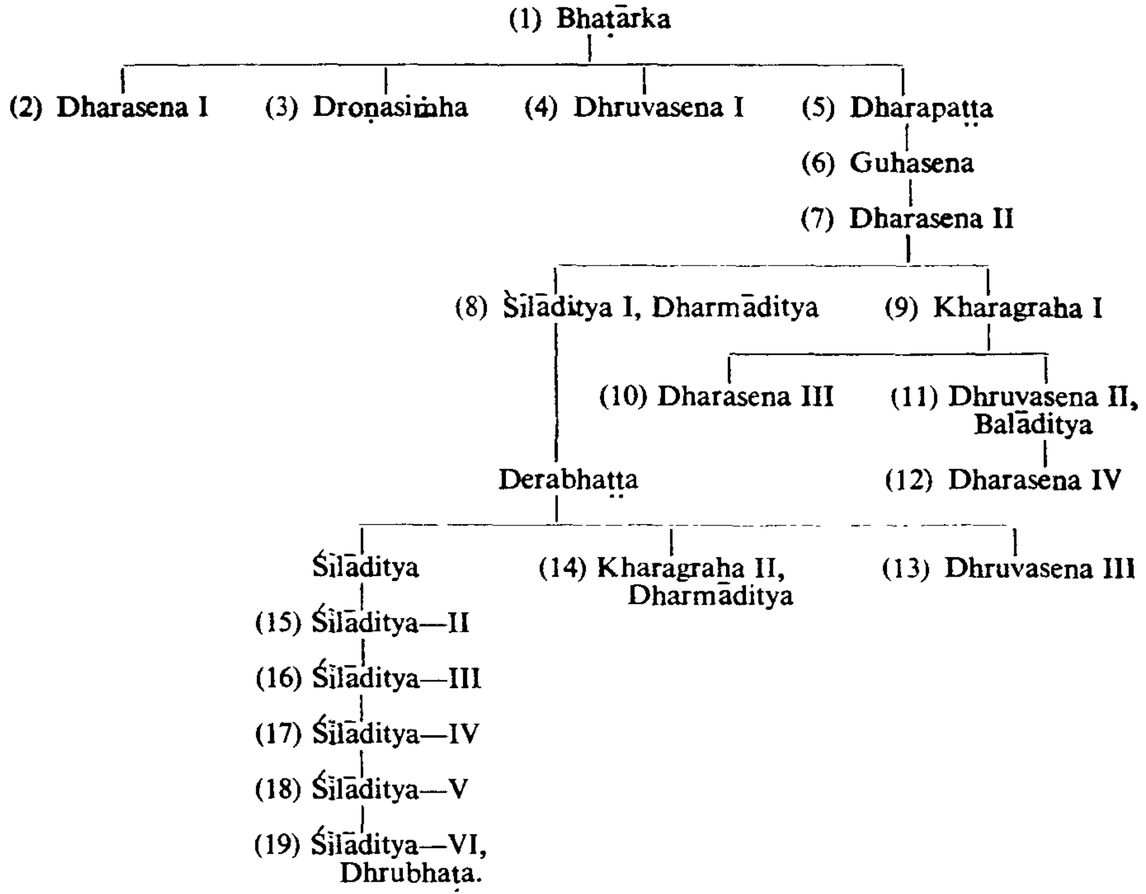
4 *Ibid.*

5 Dhaneśvarasuri, *Śatruñjaya Mahātmya*, V, 14. Sarga 1. (Tr. by Pōpatlal Prabhudas, p. 2, 755, Sihor).

6 A bardic tradition as recorded by Major Watson (*I. A.*, II, p. 312 ff.) and Tod (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*, I, pp. 100 and 255) connects the Valabhī kings with the solar race of Ayodhyā by representing them as the ancestors of the Guhilots. However, this tradition is shown to be false in chapters on political history, as is also proved by Oza (*Rajputanākā Itihāsa*, I, pp. 369-70). Its origin was probably due to the confusion made between the last king Śīlāditya of Valabhī (c. A.D. 766) with the king Śīlāditya, the fifth ruler of the Guhilot dynasty of Mēwād who flourished round about A.D. 646.

7 In his Bengali work the *Prāchina Mudrā*, the late Mr. Benerjee drew attention to the fact that several rulers in ancient India whose coins are discovered in abundance in the Pānchāl country had their names ending in 'Maitra' (pp. 106-8). From this Mr. Mānshankar Mehta inferred the rule of a Mitra dynasty over that region during the fourth century A.D. (Cf. *Mēvādānā Guhilō*, p. 97). Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar agreed with this theory and further suggested that this Mitra dynasty of Pānchāla, Kośala and Mathurā were prototypes of the Maitrakas who ruled over Gujarāt and Kathiāwād (I. A., LXI, 70). Mr. D. Shāstri who has supported this view (*Traimāsika*, I, 173-78) states that the Valabhī kings were the Kṣhatriyas of the Maitraka dynasty whose origin may obviously be traced to the Mitra dynasty that flourished round about Mathurā. (*Ibid*).

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ



CHAPTER II

SRI BHATARKA

The founder of the Maitrakas of Valabhī was thus Śrī Bhaṭārka. In all the Maitraka copper-plate grants, he is mentioned with great respect and is accorded the pride of place. Even his remote descendants never failed to express their admiration for him and do honour to his memory. All the Valabhī coins that have been found till now have on them the legend of Bhaṭārka.[1] This does not mean that these coins stamped with the name of Bhaṭārka were all issued by him only. Such coins must have also been issued by his descendants. Consequently, if they allowed his name to remain and refrained from substituting their own in its place, the conclusion would be that they wished to respect the memory of their progenitor. The fact that the legend on the seals of all the Valabhī copper-plate grants is " Śrī-Bhaṭārka " also points to the same conclusion.

Apart from the circumstantial evidence noted in the last chapter it may be inferred from the inscriptions that Bhaṭārka was not an upstart. The following description occurs at the beginning of almost every inscription of the Valabhī kings with reference to the founder of the family—the great king Bhaṭārka:—

" Maula-bhṛta-mitra-śrēṇī
—bal—āvāpta—rājyaśriḥ."

This passage has been translated by Dr. Fleet as " (He) who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends,"[2] and this rendering is followed by Kielhorn,[3] Hultzsch,[4] and Sten Konow.[5] As pointed out by N. G. Mazmudar, however, this passage[6] has to be interpreted in the light of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Arthaśāstra*. The words Maula, Bhṛta, Mitra and Śreṇi are technical terms in Hindu polity. Bala means ' army ' which consisted of four arms, viz., *Maula*[7] (hereditary), *Bhṛta* (hired), *Mitra* (allied), and *Śreṇi* (guild).

It is interesting to observe the part played in those days by guilds in military affairs. The *Harivaṃśa* speaks of guilds as participating in warlike

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[1] For other spellings of Bhaṭārka's name see foot-note No. 2 on p. 25 of this chapter.

[2] Fleet, " Maliya Copper-plate Inscription of the Mahārāja Dharasena II, V. S. 252," *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 167-168.

[3] Kielhorn, " Wala plates of Śīlāditya I, of the year 286," *I. A.* XIV, p. 329.

[4] Hultzsch, " Paper on the Ganeshgad Plates of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, III, pp. 322 ff.

[5] Sten Konow, " Pālitāṇa Plates of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, III, p. 108 ff.

[6] Mazumdar, " A passage in the inscription of the Maitrakas of Valabhī," *I. A.*, XLVIII, pp. 207-208.

[7] The word ' *Maula* ' occurs also in a Mau Chandella-stone Inscription of Madanavarmā, (cf. *E. I.*, I, p. 201, 1, 23). In this inscription Maula Pṛthvivarman, who is appointed the king's minister, is described to have been an expert in mounting elephants, horses, and chariots and skilled in archery.

activities, when it describes the fatal wrestling match between Kṛṣṇa and Kaṁsa.[1] We are told that: "The pavilions of the different companies and corporations, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts."[2] This is exactly what we find in the Mahābhārata[3] where Dhṛtarāṣṭra describing the ideal type of an army also indicates the important part played by the guilds in the political affairs of the country. Similarly, Kauṭiliya while dealing with equipment of the forces enumerates their constituents, when he says "Sa maula-bhṛta-śrēṇi, mitra-amitra-aṭavī-balānāṁ saraphalgutāni vidyāt."[4] These ancient Indian guilds may thus be compared to the Italian guilds of the middle ages and like the latter they presumably also maintained huge armies.

From the mention of hereditary troops it would appear that Bhaṭārka was born in a family of military leaders. In course of time he must have been obliged by circumstances[5] to enforce absolute control over the province under him when the Gupta empire was thrown into confusion as a result of external aggression and internal difficulties. When Skandagupta was busy fighting hordes after hordes of foreign invaders, Narendrasena Vākāṭaka[6] and his son Pṛthvisena II took advantage of the situation and established their sovereignty in Kōśala, Mekhala, and Malaya.[7] This would explain why these countries were not recorded in the Gupta inscriptions for a long time. The subordinate allies of the Guptas like the Traikuṭakas also profited by their difficulties to assert their independence. The Traikuṭaka Dahasēna accumulated power during these disorders as is seen from the fact that he performed the Aśvamedha sacrifice and struck his own coins and called himself 'master of Aparānta'[8] literally meaning 'the lord of western end.' As the Bhitāri inscription shows, the Puṣyamitras were also becoming powerful, a clear sign of the decline of the Gupta power, during this period. Besides, it is known that Skandagupta succumbed to the repeated attacks of the Huṇas in about

[1] *Harivaṁśa*, Viṣṇu-Parva, 29, 5 (p. 224) "Sva-karmma-dravya-yaktābhih-patakabhir-nirantaraṁ-śrēninām-cha-gaṇāṇānch manchabhanty-achal-opamāh." Further, we see in Kalidas, *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, p. 26, that in the Hindu political treatises the army is described as consisting of the six elements: 'Ṣadavidhini Balamā-daya Pratyasthe Digajigsya Maulām Bṛatyah Suhachhani Dviṣdātvikaṁ Balaṁ.'

[2] Dutt, *A Prose English Translation of Harivamsa*, LXXXIV, p. 360.

[3] 'ādadita balaṁ-rāja maula-mitra-balaṁ tathā-aṭavi-balaṁ bhṛtaṁ-ch-aiva-tathā śrēni-balaṁ prabho" *Āsram-vāsikā Parva*, Ch. 8, sloka 7.

[4] The passage from Arthaśāstra (140) quoted by Mazmudar while discussing the Valabh inscriptions, cf. *I. A.*, XLVIII, p. 208. "He shall know the exact strength or weakness of hereditary troops (maula), hired troops (bhṛta), the corporate body of troops (śrēni), as well as that of the army of friendly or unfriendly kings and of wild-tribe," *Arthaśāstra*, (140) p. 170.

[5] Bhaṭārka was probably residing at Wāmanasthali as a military head, and as bards narrate he placed a governor at the place when he went to Valabhī and established the kingdom.

[6] Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[7] Kielhorn, "Bālāghat Plate of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pṛthavisēna II," *E. I.*, IX, p. 270 ff.

[8] Hultzsch, "Pardi Inscription," *E. I.*, X, pp. 51-53.

A.D. 470.[1] When the Hunas advanced into the interior and attacked the heart of his empire, he was unable to continue the resistance. It would also appear that though he had come out victorious in the war of succession with his brother Puragupta, the civil war must have gone a long way in weakening the Gupta power. The unity of the empire was sapped and disintegration followed in its wake.

These difficulties were also availed of by the class of the hereditary governors and the feudatory chiefs who had grown up in the empire in its latter days and who carved for themselves independent kingdoms in their respective provinces. They are now found assuming regal titles such as *Mahārāja*, etc. Feudatories like the Maukharies of Madhyadeśa,[2] kings of Navyāvākāśika, Vardhamāna and Karṇasuvarṇa[3] in Bengal also seized this opportunity. Predecessors of Govinda Gupta, who was presumably the viceroy of Mālavā, also refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Gupta emperors of Magadha at this time,[4] while Yaśōdharman, the ruler of Mandasor,[5] must have followed in their footsteps in asserting his independence and acquiring sovereign power.

It is to be supposed that when the control from the centre was relaxed Bhaṭārka also followed the usual course, making himself independent in his own province. This was indeed a turning point in the history of the Maitrakas, an achievement for which he may have been called Bhaṭārka by his descendants which literally means a hero.[6]

The fact that Bhaṭārka founded Valabhi shows that he almost assumed independent powers. But still he retained the title of Senāpati,[7] and did not

1 Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 328.

2 That the Maukhari power was strengthened during this period can be seen from their stone inscriptions. Half a century later they are recorded in the inscription of Īśānavarma to have control over the Bāra-Bańki, Jaunpur and Gayā districts of U.P. and Bihar. All these parts formed integral parts of the Gupta Empire in the fourth and the first half of the fifth centuries of the Christian era.

3 Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 534.

4 Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

5 " Mandasor, the ancient Dasapura, was one of the most important viceregal seats of the early Gupta Empire. It was the capital of a long line of Margraves who governed part of Western-Mālavā on behalf of Emperor Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, and his son Kumāragupta I, Mahendrāditya." But with the gradual development of power a new scene opened with Yaśōdharman's sway over that province.

6 The name Bhaṭārka which accrued to him on account of his heroism was, by a not unfamiliar process, retained in the family records to the total exclusion, as it would appear, of the personal name.

7 Diskalkar, " The Valabhi Grants," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, (N. S.) I, p. 17 ff; Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 61; Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.* According to the bardic tradition one Kanaksena from Ayōdhyā came first to Lahokot and went from there to Birnagar in Suraṣṭra. There he took possession of it from a local prince in A.D. 144. Four generations later his descendant Vijayasena founded Vijayapur (now Dhoḷkā) and subsequently Valabhipura. Cf. Watson, *op. et loc. cit.*

dare to call himself Mahārāja for fear that it might be contested. This proceeding is not without parallel in Indian history. When empires fall, the governors of the provinces become independent and preserve their former titles of honour. An instance in point is that of Harihara and Bukka, founders of the great Vijayanagara empire, who, though virtually independent, called themselves Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, and not until the reign of Harihara II, the third king of the dynasty, did these rulers venture to assume the imperial titles.

After asserting his independence, Bhaṭārka seems to have transferred his capital from Girinagar to Valabhī. This is confirmed by the epigraphical records, and Girinagar lost its importance.[1] According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, "its (Valabhī's) choice as a capital was probably due to its being a harbour on the Bhāvanagar creek. The place was not so much inland as it is now. Since the days of Valabhī kings the silt which thickly covers the ruins has also filled and chocked the channel which once united it with the Bhāvanagar creek when Ghālā was probably a fair sized river." It is difficult to ascertain whether the Sanskrit Valabhī was the original name or whether Vāḷeh is a corruption of the Prākṛt form Valahī.[2] Jinaprabha-Suri, a learned Jaina monk of the thirteenth century, describes the holy Jaina hill of Śatruñjaya as being situated in the Valāhaka province. This shows that he was familiar with the Prākṛt form Valahī. The Sanskrit form Valabhī is found in the Kathāsaritsāgara, which though of a comparatively very late date, treats of very ancient materials.[3]

Of Bhaṭārka's personal accomplishments, besides his military prowess, the inscriptions recount but a few details. He was a Śaivite—a fact which is borne out by the title 'Parama-Maheśvara' used for him in his successors'

[1] We get references of the Brahmanas who migrated from Girinagar and settled down at various places round about Valabhī. One of such examples from the Valabhī grants is found in the Aṇastu plates (*E. I.*, XXII, p. 114) where the donee had migrated from Girinagar and resided at Śrāddhikā. The earliest direct reference to Valabhī is perhaps in the *Daśakumaracharita* of Daṇḍin (p. 225). The new capital Valabhī is represented by the modern site Vaḷā situated in the east of Kāthiāwād, twenty miles to the west of Bhāvanagar and twenty-five miles to the north of the holy Jaina hill Śatruñjaya. The ruins of Vaḷā consist of vast mounds and foundations of brick admidst which clay seals have been found inscribed with the well-known Buddhist formula 'Ye-dharma-hetuprabhavāḥ'.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 96 ff. However, it is strange that its name is not recorded by Periplus (A.D. 80) or by Ptolemy (A.D. 150), (cf. "Gujarāt nā Prāchina Kinārāni Bhugōla," XII, *Gujarati Sāhitya Pariṣad Sammelana*). Possibly it had not acquired the importance it did after it became the capital.

[3] Somadeva, the author of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, wrote in the introduction to this work that he borrowed his material from the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya which was written in the Paiśāchi language. Sōmadeva further states that "he did not add anything to the original material." In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* we find the name Valabhī which might have occurred in Bṛhatkathā, a fact which would suggest that Valabhī existed even in early centuries of the Christian era. However, in the absence of the original work we cannot get a full idea of the state of affairs in Valabhī at the period.

records.[1] The fact that not a single copper-plate or record of his own is obtained till now leads us to imagine that like Babur, the first emperor of the Mughal dynasty, he obtained power, but could not consolidate and organise his principality. It was one of his successors, Droṇasiṁha, like Babur's grandson Akbar, who seems to have established a firm hold over the Empire.[2]

[1] Cf. Bühler, "Alina Plates of Dharasena II," *I. A.*, VII, p. 71.

[2] Remarks on the variant forms of Bhaṭārka's name: The original form of the founder's name seems to be 'Bhaṭakka', as indicated by the royal seals as well as by the early grants of Valabhi. Later on we also find the name spelt as 'Bhaṭārkka.' This is evidently the Sanskritised form of the original Prākṛt name. It was customary to Sanskritise Prākṛt names when they were to be in Sanskrit compositions, like the names in the Maitraka copper-plate grants. In some cases the consonant preceding a conjunct 'r' was doubled. This was used frequently in ancient India, e.g. भटार्क (Bhaṭārka) was also written as भट्टार्क्क (Bhaṭṭārkka). The doubling of 'Ka' in the name Bhaṭārkka is due to the practice of doubling of consonants following a conjunct 'r', which was optional orthographically. Thus the simple form of the name in Sanskrit is Bhaṭārka, which actually occurs in a few Valabhi grants. We also come across the forms *Bhaṭṭārkka* and *Bhaṭṭārka* in the case of some other grants. Comparatively, this latter name occurs far less frequently than the above forms, 'Bhaṭākka', 'Bhaṭārkka' and 'Bhaṭārk'. Even out of these 'Bhaṭārkka' is the most frequent form used in the grants. Now 'Bhaṭārkka' and 'Bhaṭṭārkka' are altogether two different words lexicographically. In Sanskrit there are both words 'Bhaṭa' and 'Bhaṭṭa', but they denote quite different senses. Philologically 'Bhaṭa' is derived from 'bhṛta' and 'Bhaṭṭa' from 'bhartṛ'. The former means a mercenary soldier or servant, while the latter is an honorific term used for the royal or the learned class. According to Sir Monier William 'Bhaṭṭa' sometimes occurs as a wrong variant for 'Bhaṭa'. However, in either sense this may be used for the Maitraka Senāpati. One of the terms means "the Sun among the soldiers," while the other means "the Sun among the learned." Such a Maitraka hero was distinguished both for his learning and his valour. It is, however, certain that only one of these two terms could be taken as correct. The more usual and the earlier form, viz., Bhaṭārka or Bhaṭārkka is, therefore, to be preferred to the less frequent Bhaṭṭārakka.

CHAPTER III

DHARASENA I

(A.D. 493-499)

Bhaṭārka was succeeded by his eldest son Dharasena I. His reign lasted approximately from 174 to 180 of the Valabhī Saṁvat, i.e., A.D. 493 to 499.

As we have already seen, Bhaṭārka took advantage of the weakness of the Gupta power to shake off their yoke. But complete independence could be achieved only in the next reign. Dharasena's succession to the office of Senāpati held by his father, was quite in conformity with the prevailing custom, since the higher posts in the Gupta administration had by then become hereditary. Thus, for example, in the Udayagiri cave inscription[1] of the time of Chandragupta II his minister Vīrasena is described as one who had acquired the post of a minister by hereditary succession (anvaya-prāpta-sācivyaḥ); and in the Karmadande Lingaṁ inscription[2] Pṛthivisena is said to have succeeded to the post of a Mantri of Kumāragupta I, an office which his father Śikhara had held under Chandragupta II. Again, we have it in the Junāgaḍh rock inscription[3] of Skandagupta that the provincial governors were themselves empowered to appoint their assistants. It was according to this practice that Parṇadatta appointed his son Chakrapālita as a "*Charge d'affaires*" of the city. Hence, there is reason to assume that Bhaṭārka had already associated with himself his son Dharasena in the affairs of administration. After the death of his father Dharasena succeeded to the offices held by Bhaṭārka, viz., both as the head of the military and of the civil administration at Valabhī.

Dharasena I saw in the condition of things around him a splendid opportunity to consolidate the power and position which his father had acquired. He made himself independent in his new kingdom during the dark days of the Gupta empire. At that time most probably king Bhānugupta was on the throne of Magadha. His great problem was the increasing power of the Hūṇas. The battle of Eran[4] in which Goparāja was killed, was fought by him manifestly with the Hūṇas, and as Professor Banerji maintains, he was defeated in the same.[5] By defeating Bhānugupta the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa conquered Mālavā. The success of the Hūṇas in Central India, however, was short-

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[1] Fleet, "Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 21.

[2] Sten Konow, "Karmadande Lingaṁ Inscription of Kumaragupta I," *E. I.*, X, p. 71 ff. and Banerji, *J. P. A. S. B.*, V, p. 458 (pl. XIX).

[3] Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 91-93.

[5] Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 60.

lived, and according to the evidence of the Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa,[1] Toramāna died soon after defeating Bhānugupta and Goparāja. In these circumstances it is possible that the Vākāṭaka king Harisena[2] made an alliance with the Maitraka ruler Dharasena I for driving away the Hūṇas. For it is known that during this period the Vākāṭaka king Harisena[3] conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Trikuṭa, Lāṭa, Āndhra, etc.,[4] and acquired sovereign power. Only a few years before this event most of these countries were under the sway of the Hūṇas and the Guptas. The fact that a marriage had taken place between the Vākāṭaka (ruling over Avanti) and the Maitraka (ruling over Valabhī) families during the period shows that an alliance had been concluded for the specific purpose of ending the Hūṇa menace. The princess chosen for the marriage seems to have been Chandralekhā, who is described in the *Darasanasāra* of Devasena as the daughter of the king of Ujjaini and the queen of Dhruvasena I of Valabhīpura.[5] There should not be any doubt as to who this king of Ujjaini was. For Ujjain had by this time definitely come under the sway of the Vākāṭakas, a fact to which the Ajaṇṭā inscription of Harisena,[6] just referred to, bears undisputed testimony. But the marriage only meant that the Maitrakas had changed one hegemony for another. However, to have been thus honoured with the hand of Chandralekhā, the Maitrakas must have occupied a place higher than that of the mere feudatories in the political system of the Vākāṭakas. Their position may be described as that of the subordinate allies.

To follow up the history of the break-up of the Gupta power, the Maukharies threw off their yoke in the eastern part of their empire and established their independence, just as the Vākāṭakas had done in the western parts. The epigraphical records in the caves at Barābar[7] (Gayā, South Bihār) and Nāgārjunī[8] (Gayā district) bring to light a new and independent line of Maukharies, inaugurated by one Harivarman who is styled 'Mahārāja' in the Aśirgaḍh copper seal inscription[9] of his successor. That a chief should have so dared as to set at naught the authority of the Guptas in their home province of Magadha—for it must be noted that Harivarman's territory lay in eastern Magadha—proves that the power of the Guptas must have indeed declined beyond recovery.

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[1] Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 54.

[2] Jayaswal, "History of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period)", *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, p. 103; Harisena ruled from about A.D. 490 to 520.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Bühler, "Ajanta Inscription," *Archæological Survey of W. India*, IV p. 124 ff.

[5] Cf. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, p. 68.

[6] Jayaswal, "History of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period)", *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, p. 75.

[7] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 222 ff. Cf. Bhagwanlal Indraji, *I. A.*, XIII, p. 428.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 227; cf. Prinsep, *J. A. S. B.*, VI, p. 672 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 220; Wilson, *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.) III, p. 377 ff. Cf. Hamid, ***Monuments in Bihar and Orissa***, p. 88, No. 17.

CHAPTER IV

DRONASIMHA

(A.D. 499-519)

The successor of Dharasena I was his younger brother Dronasimha. He appears to have ascended the throne in about 180 Valabhī Samvat, i.e., A.D. 499.

We have seen that Dharasena I virtually assumed the status of a king in the latter part of his reign. Dronasimha went a step further and called himself 'Mahārāja', as proved by his copper-plate grant issued in V.S. 183, i.e., A.D. 502,[1] hardly a year or two after his accession. His coronation is also much spoken of in the records. In all the Maitraka plates, he is referred to as one whose coronation ceremony was performed in the presence of the paramount sovereign himself.[2] This confirms our view that though the Maitrakas had thrown off the Gupta yoke, they had to acknowledge the paramountcy of some higher power. Though the name of this power is not stated in the inscriptions, it is evident from the facts mentioned in the last chapter, that it could not have been any other than the Vākāṭakas. In the North Indian history of this period, four rulers of note stand out above the rest and all the four have had their claims urged by different writers in this connection. We may examine here the title of each of them. They are, besides the Vākāṭaka king Herisena, the Gupta ruler Bhānugupta,[3] the Hūṇa[4] ruler Toramāna or Mihirakula and Yaśodharman of Mandsor.[5] As regards the last ruler, he may at once be dismissed, for the simple reason that his imperial career started only a few years before the year A.D. 533-534 as the Mandsor Pillar inscription tells us.[6] As for the suggestion that a Hūṇa chief was the overlord—this too falls to the ground in view of the considerations we have

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[1] Jackson, "Bhamōdrā Mohotā Plates," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, p. 1 ff.; Barnett, "A New Valabhī Grant," *E. I.*, XVI, p. 17 ff; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 16.

[2] Akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍalaika-swāmina-paramaswāminā-svayam-upahita-rājyabhiśēkah, i.e., whose coronation ceremony was performed in the presence of the master of the whole Universe.

[3] Jagan Nath, "Early History of the Maitrakas of Valabhī," *Indian Culture*, V pp. 407-414.

[4] Commissariat, *History of Gujarat*, p. XXXIX; cf. Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 335.

[5] In the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 88, the date of Drōnasimha's investiture is supposed to be about A.D. 520 and therefore Yaśōdharman is suggested as the paramount ruler of his time. But the discovery of the Bhāmōdar Mohotā plate of the year V.S. 183, i.e., A.D. 502, proves that Drōnasimha's coronation had taken place in or before A.D. 502 and hence Yaśōdharman, whose imperial career started after A.D. 533 cannot be supposed to be the paramount sovereign present then.

[6] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

offered in the last chapter. Further, we find that in the territories which passed into the hands of the Hūṇas the use of the Gupta era in dating the records was given up and the regnal year of the Hūṇa kings was used instead[1], while the Maitrakas uniformly used the Gupta era. It may, therefore, be conceded that the Maitraka dominions never came under the suzerainty of the Hūṇas. As we have already seen, Bhānugupta also is out of the question. We know nothing of his achievements beyond the fact that in the Eran pillar inscription[2] of Goparāja,—one of his dependents—he is described as "the Epic hero Arjuna." But this is mere conventional praise; and as we have already had occasion to note, the Gupta power was well on the wane during this period. Hence, Bhānugupta hardly fits into the description of the paramount sovereign of Droṇasiṁha as ruling over "the whole circumference of the earth." Turning now to the emperor Harisena Vākāṭaka, we know from the Ajaṇṭā inscription[3] that he conquered Kuntala, Avanti, Kaliṅga, Kośala, Trikuṭa, Lāṭa, Āndhra, etc., and acquired the suzerain power during his glorious days, i.e., A.D. 490-520.[4] The Bālāghāṭ plates[5] further make it clear that the Vākāṭakas had their own feudatories and that they made peace and war on their own account. These facts coupled with the Vākāṭaka alliance, brought about by the marriage of the Vākāṭaka princess Chandralekhā with Droṇasiṁha's brother Dhruvasena I, suggests that it was Hariṣena Vākāṭaka who is referred to as the master of the whole universe, and his presence at the coronation ceremony was, therefore, in his dual capacity as overlord and father-in-law of the Valabhī king. The occasion was a landmark in the history of the Maitrakas and the event was carefully recorded in the dynastic accounts. This personal visit of the suzerain must have gone a long way in strengthening the bonds of friendship between the two dynasties, and we may even say that the Maitrakas were thus set on the course of complete independence, which they actually asserted in the reign of Dharasena IV, a century later.

In his own as well as his successors' copper-plates Droṇasiṁha is described as an ambitious man and a good general. Like most of the Valabhī kings he was a great devotee of Śiva. This is seen from the epithet *Parama-Maheśvara* used of him in all the Valabhī records. He made a grant of the village Trisaṅgamaka in Hastavapra āhāra (modern Hāthab) to one Pāṇḍurāja of the Devipantha, an act of munificence by which he set an example to be followed by his successors.[6]

[1] Fleet, "Eran Boar Stone Inscription," and "the Gwalior Inscription," *op. cit.*, p. 158 and 161 respectively.

[2] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[3] Jayaswal, *op. et loc. cit.*, "History of India (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period)," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, p. 75.

[4] Jayaswal, "History of India, (Nāga-Vākāṭaka Imperial Period)," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, pp. 79-103.

[5] Kielhorn, "Bālāghaṭ plate of the Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pṛthvisēna II," *E. I.*, IX, p. 270 ff.

[6] Jackson, Barnett, and Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*

We know from the inscriptions that Bhaṭārka and his eldest son Dharasena were military leaders whose reigns were mainly occupied with fighting and carving out a principality and thus making their power recognised by all and sundry. It was only in the reign of Droṇasiṁha that measures could be taken to ensure the social and economic welfare of their subjects. Accordingly, Droṇasiṁha is described as having set up before him the ideal of a Dharmarāja. In the inscriptions he is described as " one whose nature (manifested itself in) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others; who like Dharmarāja, (i.e., Yudhiṣṭhira), fixed the path of the laws of good conduct,"[1] (' praśa-(śa) vimala—mauli (li) maṇir—Mmanv-ādi-praṇita-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmmā Dharmmarājaiva vihita-vinaya-nya (vya) vasthā-paddhātir '). This description in the Valabhī plates reminds us of the description of Dilipa by the poet Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa*, as the real father of his subjects because he educated, protected and supported his people who were said to have swerved not an inch from the path laid down by Manu.

1 Sten Konow, " Five Valabhī Plates," *E. I.*, XI, p. 107, line 7.

CHAPTER V

DHRUVASENA I

(A.D. 519-549)

Dhruvasena I was the third son of Senāpati Bhaṭārka and the first of the several Maitraka sovereigns of that name. He succeeded his brother Droṇasiṁha and ruled for about thirty years from A.D. 519 to 549.

In the Valabhī copper-plate grants we usually find an expression, which a reigning king used by way of paying respect to his predecessor, viz. " whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his (predecessor's) feet," etc.,[1] (*tat-pādā-rajō-ruṇ-āvanata-pavitri-kṛta*). The sudden break in this usual formula makes us suspect that the succession of Dhruvasena I was perhaps not peacefully effected. This seems to be confirmed by the next epithet " that he acquired the throne by the strength of his own arms,"[2] (*Sva-bhuja-parākrameṇa*) used in connection with this ruler. One may be tempted to infer from this that it was a successful rebellion against his brother that brought Dhruvasena I to the throne. But this hypothesis is unwarranted. For the circumstance mentioned in the records, viz., that he was himself responsible for his rise, shows that either during the last days of his predecessor Droṇasiṁha or immediately on his accession to the throne the Maitrakas were assailed by a superior power, which drove Dhruvasena from his inheritance and that it was only by the strength of his own efforts that he succeeded in regaining his kingdom. Now, the external power responsible for the troubles of the Valabhī kingdom at this time was probably Yaśodharman of Mālavā. However, though Dhruvasena boasts that it was by his own efforts that he regained his kingdom, the epithet he bore, viz. " (He) who meditates on the feet of paramount lord " (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*),[3] would show that he received valuable help from his overlord. The latter could have been none other than the Vākāṭaka king Harisena. After this success, Dhruvasena I would appear to have ruled undisturbed for about a decade, as seen from his inscriptions issued from the beginning of his reign down to V.S. 210[4], i.e., A.D. 529. In these inscriptions he is styled ' *Mahāsāmanta* ' and ' *Mahārāja* '.

But it was not long before Dhruvasena came into conflict with his erstwhile enemy. His grants dated V.S. 216[5] and V.S. 217[6] (i.e., A.D. 535 and 536) were

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1 Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

2 Bühler, " A grant of Dhruvasena I, dated 216," *E. I.*, IV, pp. 104-107 (lines 10-11).

3 *Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1293, 1294, 1295, 1296, 1297, 1299, 1300, 1301, 1302, 1303, 1591, 1592, etc.

4 Jackson, " A Valabhī Copper-plate grant of Sam. 210," *I. A.*, XXXIX, p. 130 ; and Sten Konow, " A Copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, XI, p. 113 ff.

5 Bühler, *loc. cit.*

Bloch, " British Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I," *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 382 ff.

issued actually from the battlefield (*vijaya-skandah-vārāt*). The war that followed, however, was not as successful to the Maitrakas as the previous one, and it would appear that it was only on his acceptance of humiliating terms that peace was made. This is also evident from the titles which he assumed from now onwards, viz., 'Mahāpratihāra', the great door-keeper, 'Mahādaṇḍanāyaka' the great general or governor, 'Mahākārtika' which may be literally translated as the great follower of Kārtika—the general of the gods, all of which are indications of a distinctly lower status. It is possible that Yaśodharman availed himself of the death of the great Vākāṭaka emperor Harisena, which seems to have taken place at about this time,[1] to measure his strength once more, with the Vākāṭakas. The defeat which he inflicted on the latter was so overwhelming that they could not survive as a power. They disappeared from history, since no record of any successor of Harisena is known to exist. The battle must have taken place some time before A.D. 533 in which year the Mandsor Pillar inscription[2] of Yaśodharman, is dated. In this *praśasti* his prowess and conquests are thus described as "He, who spurning (the confinement of) the boundaries of his own house, enjoys, those countries,—thickly covered over with deserts and mountains and trees and thickets and rivers and strong-armed heroes, (and) having (their) kings assaulted by (his) prowess,—which were not enjoyed (even) by the lords of the Guptas, whose prowess was displayed by invading the whole (remainder of) the earth, (and) which the command of the chiefs of the Hūṇas, that established itself on the tiaras of (many) kings, failed to penetrate:—He, before whose feet chieftains, having (their) arrogance removed by the strength of (his) arm, bow down, from the neighbourhood of the (river) Lauhitya up to (the mountain) Mahēndra, the lands at the foot of which are impenetrable through the groves of palmyra-trees, (and) from (Himālaya) the mountain of snow, the table-lands of which are embraced by the (river) Gaṅgā, up to the Western Ocean,—by which (all) the divisions of the earth are made of various hues through the intermingling of the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of (their) heads"[3]— Dhruvasena, it would seem, had to pay the penalty for his loyalty to his overlords—the Vākāṭakas. He was degraded from the exalted position of 'Mahāsāmanta' or chief feudatory, to that of mere *daṇḍanāyaka* or captain.

But the rise of Yaśodharman was like that of a meteor.[4] His power was as short-lived. Ten years after the Mandsor inscription (c. A.D. 543-544) we find a portion of his dominions being ruled by a viceroy or son (?) of a Gupta

[1] The period of rule assigned to Harisena is from A.D. 490 to 520 cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 79. But since this is purely conjectural, we may extend it by a few years. The war between Yaśodharman and the Vākāṭakas would then be taken as being fought early in the next Vākāṭaka reign. According to Jouveau-Dubreuil, Harisena ruled from A.D. 500 to 530 cf. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 76.

[2] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 146-7; cf. Fleet, *I. A.*, XV, p. 257.

[3] *Ibid.*, lines (4-5).

[4] Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 160, and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

emperor, who is styled "*parama-bhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja pṛthivīpati*" "Supreme sovereign, king of kings, lord of the earth."[1] At about the same time we find that the Maitrakas also were regaining their former status. In his inscriptions dated V.S. 221[2] to V.S. 226[3] (i.e., A.D. 540 to 545) it is seen that the old titles of Mahārāja and Mahāsāmanta were restored to Dhruvasena I.

During these turbulent days Dhruvasena I seems to have lost his son.[4] For the famous Jaina-council held at Valabhī condoled with him on his great loss.

Dhruvasena was a worthy successor to the warlike kings that had preceded him on the throne of Valabhī. He is described in the records to have, "like a lion, defeated single-handed by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies; and to have been the refuge of those who sought protection."[5] The records also speak of his scholarly attainments and his patronage of the learned referring to him as "*Avaboddhā-śāstrārtha-tattvānām*,"[6] "he who knows the essence of the Śāstras, the authoritative works on the different branches of learning," and as *Kalpatarur-iva suhrit-praṇayiṇāṁ yathābhilaśita-kāma-phal-opabhoga-daḥ*,[7] "one who showed great liberality to friends and the learned and the existing religious institutions of his time."

We find from Dhruvasena I's plates that his father Bhaṭārka and his elder brothers king Dharasena I and Droṇasiṁha were *Parama-Maheśvaras*, i.e., great devotees of Śiva; and that he himself was Parama-Bhāgavata, i.e., a great devotee of Viṣṇu. This was perhaps due to the influence of some Vaiṣṇavite preceptor of the time who had also influenced the Vākāṭaka and the Gārulaka kings in favour of Vaiṣṇavism. But he was, with all, a man of liberal religious outlook. This is confirmed from the following facts. His grant dated V.S. 216[8] (A.D. 535) is made for the benefit of a Buddhist Vihāra built by his niece (sister's daughter) Dūddā, who is called *Paramōpāsika*, and that of V.S. 217[9] for the benefit of another built by one Buddhadāsa. The expenses of providing the Buddhist monks with the necessaries of life, of feeding Buddhist pilgrims who flocked from all parts for worshipping the Buddhist idols, and of repairing the Vihāras, were to be met from the income accruing from these grants. The other grants were made to Brāhmaṇas learned in different vedas.

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1 Cf. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, p. 505.

2 Vallabhji Haridatta, "Vavadiga-Jogia-plates of Dhruvasena I," *Vienna Ori. Jour.*, Vol. VII, p. 297.

3 Diskalkar, "Wala Museum Plates of Dhruvasena I," *An. Rept. Wat. Mus.*, 1922-23, p. 9; and Diskalkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, p. 18.

4 Jacobi, *Sacred Books of the East*, XXII, p. 270.

5 Hultzsch, "The Ganeśgaḍ Inscription of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, III, p. 318 (lines 8-10); and Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 165 (lines 6-8).

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 Bühler, "A Valabhī Copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I," *I. A.*, IV, pp. 104-107.

9 Bloch, "Dhruvasena I's Copper-plate grant," *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 379; cf. Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, I, p. 40.

It may be noted that three grants—one of v.s. 207,[1] v.s. 210[2] (A.D. 529), another of v.s. 221[3] (A.D. 540) and a third of v.s. 226[4] (A.D. 545)—are made to the Brāhmaṇas of Ānandapura, the present Vaḍanagar, the famous seat of Brāhmanical learning. In the first it is simply called Nāgara, in the second Ānandapura, and in the third Ānarttapura. In the first the donees are two brothers, Śāntiśarmā and Devaśarmā of Ātreyagotra, who were the students of the Vājasaneyī Śākhā of the Yajūrveda. In the second the names of the donees are Skandatrāta and Guhatrāta of Bhāradvāja gotra, who were the students of Sāmaveda (Chhandogasabrahmachārī); the name of the donee in the third grant is lost.

The famous Jaina council,[5] which was held at Valabhī in the early part of his reign (A.D. 526[6]) is another proof of his broad religious views and interest in the different religious philosophies. Although we know that the two distinct divisions in the Jaina community did not come into existence till the beginning of the Christian era, it must be admitted that the tradition of Bhadrabāhu of the days of the great famine[7] and the Jainchandra and Śivabhūti of c. A.D. 80 are some of the stages in the history of the great schism. But in the opinion of several scholars the great council at Valabhī led to the final separation of the two sects under Devarddhigaṇi. It was here that the final reduction into writing, of the whole canonical literature of the Jainas, resulted in the split of the Jaina community, with differences in matters of certain dogmas and beliefs. The whole thing was arranged at Valabhī, because of the efforts of queen Chandralekhā,[8] and thus Valabhī became an important city in the history of the Jaina literature.

The increase in the Maitraka power under Dhruvasena I is also attested by the fact that a ruling family called the Gārulakas[9] acknowledged his supre-

1 An unpublished grant of this year was made on Kartika Sukla 3. It is in the collection of Mr. Sarabhai Nawab of Ahmedabad.

2 Sukthankar, "Dhruvasena I's Copper-plate grant," *E. I.*, XVII, p. 108; Diskalkar, "The Second half of a Valabhī Grant of Samvat 210," *E. I.*, XIX, p. 125 ff.

3 Valabhji Haridatta, "Vavadia Jogia Plates," *V. O. J.*, VII, p. 297.

4 Diskalkar, "New Valabhī Copper-plate grants," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.) I, p. 16.

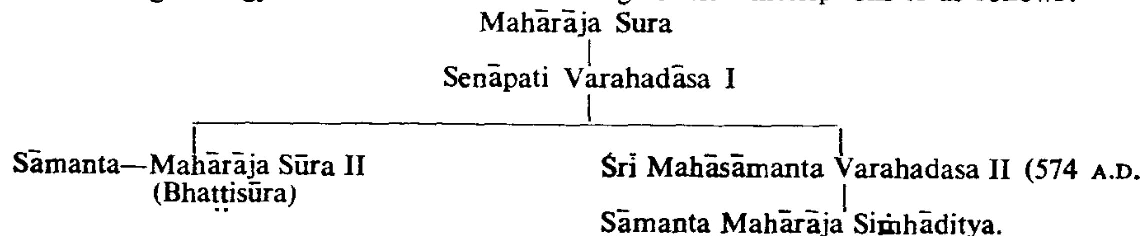
5 Charpentier, "The Date of Mahāvira," *I. A.*, XLIII, pp. 176-177; Jacobi, *Kalpa Sūtra*, p. 270.

6 Charpentier, *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra*, p. 16. This date of the learned scholar is based on the date of Mahāvira's Nirvāṇa in 467 B.C., and 993 A.V. as the date of the redaction of the Jaina Canon.

7 Nathuram Premi, *Daraśanasara of Dēvasēna*, p. 31.

8 Cf. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

9 The genealogy of the Garulakas according to their inscriptions is as follows:—



macy. Two copper-plate grants of this family are found along with the Valabhī inscriptions, and what is remarkable, is that the former resemble very much the Maitraka grants. In one of these copper-plates,[1] Dhruvasena's name is actually mentioned as an overlord by the Gārulaka king Varāhadāsa (in G.E. 230, i.e., A.D. 549). This king is said to have obtained a victory over Dwārikā,[2] and presumably it was done with the help of his Maitraka overlord. The capital of these Gārulakas was Phaṅkapraśravaṇa,[3] close to Girinagar in the heart of the Maitraka kingdom. The name Gārulaka or Gāruḍaka suggests that the family probably had the Garuḍa, the *vāhana* of Viṣṇu, as its emblem, and the description in the plates further makes it clear that the rulers of this dynasty were Vaiṣṇavites. The fact that they were brave and ambitious rulers, is clearly seen from their records. It is said that "the Gārulakas subdued all enemies by their prosperity due to performance of eminent deeds; and they gained decisive victories in encounters (with their enemies) in many of the battles."[4] This would imply that they distinguished themselves in wars under their suzerains. Like the Maitrakas they too were broad-minded in religion. They made grants indiscriminately to the Brāhmaṇas[5] and to the Buddhists.[6] The gratitude of their subjects on this score is revealed from the comparison of their rule to that of Yudhiṣṭhira and of Daśaratha of the heroic age. The details in the records of their administrative officers suggest that they had an excellent system of administration, for various officers, both civil and military, from princes (rājaputra), palace-officers (rājasthāniya), and ministers, to city officers (drāṅgika), headmen (mahāttara), regular and irregular soldiers, spies and riders on elephants and horses, are mentioned.

Dhruvasena I's grants were made at various places like Valabhī, Hāthab and the camp at Khuḍḍavedīya, and the donees came from far off places to receive their grants, one of such examples being Siṁhapura which is identified with Sihore, situated at the Bhāvanagar-Vaḍhavāṇa junction. Three of his grants dated v.s. 210, v.s. 221 and v.s. 226, as we have seen above, are made to Brāhmaṇas of Vaḍanagar. This shows that the limits of his kingdom in the north must have included Vaḍanagar also. To the west the kingdom seems to have spread as far as Dwārikā, the extreme end of Surāṣṭra, in this direction. As for the expansion of the Maitraka kingdom towards the east and the south, beyond Valabhī, we know that this development took place in later days, under Dhruvasena's successors.

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[1] Gadre, "The Five Vaḷā Copper-plate grants," *J. U. B.*, III, p. 79 ff, (line 15).

[2] *Ibid.;* cf. Hultzsch, "Palitana Plates of Siṁhāditya," *E. I.*, XI, p. 17. The king of Dwarika who was defeated by the Gārulaka king was probably one of the Heroles chiefs who ruled over this country in the sixth century A.D. as mentioned in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII, p. 590 (Kāṭhiāwaḍ).

[3] Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.*

[4] Hultzsch, *op. et loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Gadre, *op et loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VI

DHARAPATTA

(A.D. 549-553)

King Dhruvasena I was succeeded by his younger brother Dharapaṭṭa who seems to have ruled for a very short period. For the earliest known grant of his son and successor Guhasena is dated v.s. 240[1] (i.e., A.D. 559), while the last known date of his predecessor, as we have already seen, is v.s. 230 (i.e., A.D. 549)[2]. Indeed, having succeeded to the throne after his three elder brothers, whose reigns covered a period of five decades, he must have been an old man, when he was anointed king. In these circumstances the short duration of his reign is nothing exceptional. No records of his are discovered as yet. It is said that Dharapaṭṭa is not mentioned in the grants of his son, though he is styled in the records of his grandson Dharasena II as a '*Mahārāja*', which proves that he did succeed to the throne of Valabhī.

Now the question arises as to why the passage describing this ruler does not occur in the grants of Guhasena and was subsequently inserted by his successors. On examining the three of the copper-plate grants of Guhasena, however, it is found that one of them has its first plate missing,[3] while the second plate begins with the passage on Guhasena himself, as continued from the end of the first plate. Thus the missing of the first plate leaves the case undecided as far as this record is concerned. In the case of the third, i.e., of the year v.s. 248,[4] both the plates are well preserved, but while editing these plates the author has given neither the transcript nor the facsimile of the first plate. He only gives the summary of the first plate, which again leaves us in doubt. The editor simply says that the "first plate gave nothing but the genealogy from Bhaṭārka to Dharapaṭṭa, such as is known to us from the grants of Dhruvasena I and Dharasena II." On turning to the early grant of v.s. 240, we find this vital difference, viz., the omission of Dharapaṭṭa's name. Also, the beginning of Guhasena's description after that of Dhruvasena I is very abrupt in as much as no relationship with the former is specified. This creates suspicion about some mistake of the (lekhaka) writer who may have omitted some words in the grant, suspicion which requires to be resolved with the help of some other grant of Guhasena to be discovered hereafter.

In describing him as '*Paramāditya-Bhakta*', the records suggest that he was a devotee of the Sun god. It is curious that Dharapaṭṭa alone, among the

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[1] Bühler, "A Valabhī Grant of Guhasena dated 240," *I. A.*, VII, p. 66.

[2] This date is known from Dhruvasena I's contemporary feudatory king Varāhadāsa of the Gārulaka dynasty. Cf. Gadre, "The five Vaḷā Copper-plate grants," *J. U. B.*, III, p. 79, while the last known grant of Dhruvasena I is dated v.s. 226.

[3] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

[4] Bühler, *op. cit.*, V, p. 206.

Valabhī rulers, should profess the Sun-faith. But what is more significant is that his other contemporaries also seem to have had a partiality for this cult. We know from the history of the Gurjaras that kings Dadda I and II and Raṇagraha were devotees of the Sun, a fact which shows the prevalence of the Sun-worship in northern India in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. However, since the kings were tolerant in matters of religion, the faith, confined as it was to the royalty and only a small section of the people, could not make progress and was short-lived.[1] It seems to have lingered on for some time, for we know a temple of the Sun god stood at Kāvi to which the Gurjara Rāṣṭrakūta king Govindarāja made a grant.[2]

It is said in the inscriptions that Dharapaṭṭa "forcibly conquered the renowned greatness of the ranks of (his) enemies."[3] In the absence of reliable data these military exploits of Dharapaṭṭa may be said to refer to one of his campaigns in his younger days, against the enemies during the reign of his brothers.

Before we pass from Dharapaṭṭa to his son Guhasena the interesting fact may be noted that all the elder sons of Bhaṭārka are in turn succeeded by their respective *anujas*, i.e., younger brothers. Dharasena I, the eldest, was succeeded by his younger brother Droṇasiṁha, the latter was then succeeded by his younger brother Dhruvasena I, who in turn was succeeded by the youngest brother, Dharapaṭṭa. Did all these three elder brothers of Dharapaṭṭa have no male issue to succeed them? Or was there such a tradition among the Maitrakas that the Anuja, i.e., younger brother should have a prior right over the son, so that all the sons of a king could exercise their claims to the throne successively? Later on king Śīlāditya I also is succeeded by his *anuja*, Kharagraha I, though he himself had a son named Derabhaṭa. Kharagraha explains his direct succession to his elder brother simply as an act of obedience to the will of his elder brother (guru). This possibly suggests that Śīlāditya himself had appointed his *anuja* to be his successor. Accordingly, it may also be said that each son of Bhaṭārka selected his *anuja* to succeed him. The phrase "*tat pāda-anudyātaḥ*" used by every succeeding king for his immediate predecessor bears such a significance, viz., that each king naturally showed reverence to his predecessor who selected him to be his successor. The assumption that each king selected his successor according to his own choice will also help us in explaining the cases of '*Agraja*' successors among the later Maitrakas.

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[1] The fact that king Śīlāditya I made a grant to a Sun-temple, proves the existence of the faith in his time, cf. *I. A.*, IX, p. 237.

[2] Kielhorn, "Kavi Grant of Gōvindarāja," *I. A.*, V, p. 144.

[3] Fleet, "Maliya Copper-plate inscription," *op. cit.*, p. 165, lines 8-9.

CHAPTER VII

GUHASENA

(A.D. 553-569)

Guhasena was the son and successor of Dharapaṭṭa. He was perhaps the first great king of the Maitraka dynasty. This can be seen from the fact that all the Valabhī rulers from Śīlāditya I down to the last ruler of the line, drop the names of his four predecessors in their dynastic records, while his name is recorded with due respect in all the grants. Thus after naming the founder Bhaṭārka, the genealogy commences with him.

Guhasena appears to have ruled for about sixteen years from V.S. 234 to V.S. 250 (i.e., A.D. 553 to 569). The last known date of Dhruvasena I is V.S. 230[1] (i.e., A.D. 549) and as has already been shown in the last chapter, Dharapaṭṭa's reign was of short duration. Since the first known date of Guhasena is V.S. 240[2] (i.e., A.D. 559) we may rest content that he came to the throne in about V.S. 234 (i.e., A.D. 553). As the earliest known grant of his successor Dharasena II is dated in V.S. 252[3] (i.e., A.D. 571) we may conclude that Guhasena's reign extended down to V.S. 250 (i.e., A.D. 569).

From the Jaunpur stone inscription[4] of the Maukhari[5] ruler Īśvaravarman it is known that he had reached the Raivataka mountain,[6] a region which was included in Guhasena's territories. The upshot of this invasion, however, is not specified in the inscription. Nevertheless, judging from the epithet borne by Guhasena, it may be said that the latter successfully repulsed his enemy. We are told in his own records that his " strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) foes," and further that, " the heads of (his) enemies were made to bow down by his prowess."[7] That this was not an empty boast is also manifest from the fact that in contrast to his predecessors, who called themselves *Mahāsāmantas*, he assumed the higher title of *Mahārāja*. On the other hand, unlike his successors who bore imperial titles such as *Mahārājādhirāja*, Īśvaravarman is given the simple

1 Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Bühler, " Copper-plate grants of Guhasena," *I. A.*, VII, p. 66 ff.

3 *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 31; cf. Fleet, " The Jhar Plates," *I. A.*, XV, p. 187.

4 Fleet, " The Jaunpur Stone Inscription," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 229 ff.

5 In the Jaunpur stone inscription the Maukharis are called Mukharas.

6 On this point there is a divergence of opinion among scholars, for which the fragmentary nature of the inscription is responsible. According to some, Īśvaravarman defeated a king who took shelter in the Raivataka mountain, while others opine that his expedition into Surāṣṭra took Īśvaravarman as far as Raivataka. But none of these authorities have tried to identify the ruler of this territory. Nevertheless, he could be none other than our Guhasena because the country invaded was the Maitraka kingdom.

7 Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

style of *Kṣitipati* and *Mahārāja* in the later inscriptions[1] of his dynasty; while in his own inscription the style adopted by him is merely that of *nṛpati* (a king). But the Harāhā inscription declares that "for the obtainment of martial glory" Ādityavarman "caused the birth of Īśvaravarman."[2] This doubtless means that Īśvaravarman was destined to exalt and celebrate the name of the Maukhari kula. A probable inference that may be drawn from this is that the imperial ambition of the Maukharis originated from his time, though he himself did not succeed in achieving it. He was driven back from Suraṣṭra by the Great Maitraka ruler Guhasena, who compelled him for ever more to respect the integrity of his territory.

This attempted annexation of the Maitraka kingdom may have taken place somewhere in the beginning of Guhasena's rule, and the concluding years of the reign of Īśvaravarman, for we know, from the Harāhā inscription, that in the Vikrama Saṁ. 611, i.e., A.D. 544,[3] Īśvaravarman's son Īśānavarman succeeded to the Maukhari throne. This victory over the Maukharis went a long way in strengthening Guhasena's position as an independent king. And it was, no doubt, because of this victory which he won single-handed over a powerful adversary, that he boldly gave up the feudatory title of *Sāmanta,* hitherto borne by his predecessors, and made himself feared and respected in the neighbouring kingdoms.

In all we have five records of this ruler. One copper-plate grant is dated in V.S. 240[4] (i.e., A.D. 559), another in V.S. 246[5] (i.e., A.D. 565) and the third one bears the year 248[6] (i.e., c. A.D. 567) of the same Saṁvat. An inscription recording the name of Guhasena and dated in V.S. 247 (i.e., A.D. 566)[7] was found inscribed on a small clay-pot discovered at Vaḷā. The word '*Ghata*' of the record obviously refers to the vessel on which it was inscribed. One more fragmentary stone inscription[8] discovered at the village Baṅkodi in the Rāval district of the Navānagar state, also records the name of Guhasena, and has been assigned on palæographical grounds to this Maitraka king. These are the only two inscriptions of this type, bearing the name of a Maitraka ruler, who

[1] Fleet, "Asirgaḍh Copper-Seal Inscription of Sarvavarman," *op. cit.*, p. 220 ff; cf. Sāstri, "The Harāhā Inscription," *E. I.*, XIV, p. 119.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 119, line 8; cf. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 69.

[3] Majumdar, "A Harāhā Stone Inscription," *I. A.*, XLVI, p. 125 ff; Sāstri, *E. I.*, XIV, p. 110 ff.

[4] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

[5] Bühler, "The Grant of Guhasena of Valabhī," *I. A.*, IV, p. 174 ff; Barnett, "Wala Plate of Guhasena of the year 246," *E. I.*, XIII, p. 338. (Bhandarkar's list Nos. **1312** and **1313** and Sankalia's list Nos. **79** and **80** are for one and the same grant.)

[6] Bühler, "The Bhāvanagar Plate of Guhasena of Valabhī," *I. A.*, V, p. 207.

[7] Bühler, "Wala fragmentary Inscription," *I. A.*, XIV, p. 75. In his *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 105, Dr. R. A. Salatore has suggested that this 'ghata' may have been a pot for water-clock.

[8] *The Bhavanagar Prākrt and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 30.

happened to be Guhasena in both these cases; one of this is about 18″ x 7″ and consists of three lines, though all its sides and corners are chopped off. Unfortunately, the date and the purpose of the inscription are missing. It is, therefore, difficult to say anything about its object.

It may be gathered from his records that Guhasena combined in himself the qualities of a warrior as well as of a statesman. It seems that the royal treasury was replenished in his time, for he is compared to an ocean for possessing wealth.[1] He was a skilled and formidable warrior almost cradled in the art of warfare. " His sword," we are told, " was verily a second arm to him from his childhood,"[2] (*Śaiśavāt-pra bhutā-Khaḍga-dvitiya-bāhur-eva*). His statesmanlike qualities are obvious from the fact that he is reported to have governed his subjects according to the Smṛtis and other traditionary laws. His " title of ' king ' was obvious and suitable," we are told in his copper-plates, " because he pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by properly preserving the path prescribed by all the traditional laws,"[3] (*Sakala-smṛti-praṇīta-mārga-samyak-paripālana-prajā-hṛdaya-rañjanād-anvartha-rāja-śabdō*). We may, therefore, rightly maintain that it was his keen political insight coupled with his consummate generalship that gained for him a great influence in his kingdom. The Maitraka records are unanimous in representing him as a handsome man possessed of elegant bearing and refined and courteous manners who resembled (the god) Smara. He is invariably described as ' Dhaneśa ' and ' Bṛhaspati ',[4] a fact which testifies to the prosperity, both material and moral, of the country under him, and a full exchequer. Though all these attributes are stereotyped and modelled on the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, they nevertheless show that their Maitraka recipient was an important personality.

All the plates of Guhasena are records of donations made to Buddhist monasteries. The very first known grant is made to the Vihāra, in the city of Valabhī, built by Dūḍḍā. She is referred to as ' *Pūjya* ' " respected ". This is natural, for she was an aged cousin (father's sister's daughter) of Guhasena. In addition to the usual purposes of providing for the monks and pilgrims, repairing the monasteries, etc., one more purpose is mentioned—viz., the purchase of books[5] of ' good religion,' i.e., Buddhism for the Vihāras. This proves the existence of a library, at least of Buddhist books. The eighteen Nikāyas or schools of Buddhism, are also mentioned in this plate. His second record describes the grant made for the same purpose. Dūḍḍā is referred to more respectfully as Dūḍḍāpāda; and the Vihāra is named after her as Dūddā Vihāra. At the end of this record we find the word ' *Svamukhājñā* ' ' oral order.' This probably implies that no *dūtaka* was necessary as the grant was

[1] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 165—lines 1-15.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 66.

made directly without the usual intermediaries being present. It was written by Skandabhaṭṭa, who was appointed to the post of the minister of war and peace. The third grant was made to Abhyantarikā-Vihāra, built by Mimmā who is referred to as Mimmāpāda. From the terms of respect accorded to her, it seems that she was also related to the royal family like Dūḍḍā. However, in the absence of evidence, it is not possible to be definite on this point. This Vihāra was situated near the Bhaṭāraka-Vihāra which was given to the Rajasthānīya (i.e., the official guardian) Sūra. The 'oral order' is mentioned in this grant also. This explains the absence of the dūtaka's name as in the previous case. The grant was written by the same Skandabhaṭṭa.

In the first two grants Guhasena is styled a *Parama-Maheśvara* "a great devotee of Śiva." While in the latter one, which was issued in v.s. 248 (i.e., A.D. 567), he is said to be a *Paramopāsaka* "a great devotee of the Buddha." This shows that he was greatly influenced by Buddhism between the year A.D. 565 and 567. It was perhaps due to the influence of the nun Dūḍḍā and other pious and learned monks of the time. But the emblem of all his plates continued to be that of a Nandi (*vṛṣabha*), the *vāhana* of Śiva. Even in the inscriptions of his successors Guhasena is invariably styled '*Parama-Maheśvara*'. This is a clear proof that he was not converted to Buddhism, as Bühler would have us believe,[1] and the change from '*Parama-Maheśvara*' to '*Paramopāsaka*' in the grants would, in that case, only signify that he was greatly interested in Buddhism and may even have had a decided leaning towards it, but did not adopt it. But conviction, as is repeatedly shown in the histories of religion, is one thing, and conversion quite another.

The mention of Dūḍḍā's and Mimmā's names in the copper-plate grants, is significant from another point of view also. It shows the importance given to ladies in those days. That they were highly cultured and educated is clearly seen from the fact that they could construct and organise institutions like the *Vihāras*.

At about this time, the Saurseni Apabhraṁśa, the spoken language of the people, was growing into a literary language. And we are told that king Guhasena wrote poems[2] in Sanskrit, Prākṛt and even Apabhraṁśa, a fact which gives a glimpse of the literary activities of the time.

In his classic on Rājasthān Tod has observed that the Guhilots of Mewār were the descendants of the Maitrakas.[3] Tod based his accounts on local chronicles and traditions, according to which king Śīlāditya, the last king of the Maitraka line, died and lost his kingdom while resisting an attack of the barbarians. A posthumous son was born to him and was named Guhāditya.

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1 Bühler, *Archæological Survey of West India*, III, p. 84.

2 Munshi, *Gujarāt and its Literature*, p. 20.

3 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, pp. 176-181.

The latter was brought up in a family of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Vaḍnagar in Gujarāt. When the child grew up, he conquered the aboriginal Bhil chieftain of Idar, and became the progenitor of the Guhilots of Mewār. But the account can hardly be reconciled with the evidence of contemporary epigraphs. The Samoli inscription of the Guhila Śīlāditya dated A.D. 646[1] and the Nāgaḍa inscription of the Guhila Aparājita dated A.D 661[2] suggest that the Guhila family was already established in Mewār during the time of the earliest Śīlāditya of the Maitraka line, and flourished along with the Maitrakas, when the latter became extinct—about the last quarter of the eighth century A.D.[3] On the other hand, there is an inscription to show that Śīlā, a king of the Guhilot dynasty, lived in Vik. Saṁ. 703, i.e., A.D. 646. The Raṇapur Achalgaḍh Chitorgaḍh and Āṭapura inscriptions distinctly show that Śīlā was five generations apart from Guhadatta or Guhila, the founder of the Guhilot dynasty. Guhadatta, therefore, must be carried to the middle of the sixth century, allowing roughly twenty years for each generation. Thus it was quite impossible for him to be a descendant of the last Maitraka king Śīlāditya VII.

The *Bombay Gazetteer*[4] states that the Guhilots of Mewār were a branch descending from the Maitraka king Guhasena: a branch of the family springing from Guhasena took their dynastic name from the name of their progenitor as Gohilot or Gehlots. But great doubts at once arise in regard to this suggestion also. The Gohils were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas,[5] a fact which is supported by a well-known verse occurring in the Achaleśara stone inscription[6] (Vik. Saṁ. 1342), the Chitorgaḍh stone inscription[7] (Vik. Saṁ. 1331) and the Māmadeva *praśasti.* The Chitorgaḍh inscription also styles Bappa (the founder of the family) a Brāhmaṇa. Again, the *Ekaliṅga-Mahātmya*, composed during the reign of Rāṇā Kumbha, declares that Guhādatta, the founder of the race, belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family which had migrated from Ānandapura.[8] The same work further on states that Vijayāditya, the ancestor of Guhādatta, was the ornament of the Nāgar race. If, then, it is undoubted that the Gohilots were Brāhmaṇas, how could they have descended from the Maitrakas, whom we definitely know to be Kṣatriyas?[9]

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[1] Halder, " Samoli Inscription of Śilāditya," *E. I.*, XX, p. 97.

[2] Kielhorn, " Udayapur Inscription of Aparājita," *E. I.*, IV, p. 31.

[3] The last known date of the Maitraka records is V.S. 447 (i.e., A.D. 766-767). Cf. Fleet, " The Aliṇā Plates of Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 171 ff.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 90.

[5] Banerjee, " Early History of the Guhilots," *I. C.*, III, p. 585 ff; Bhandarkar, " The Guhilots," *J. A. S. B.*, V, 1909, p. 167 ff.

[6] *Bhavanagar Inscriptions*, p. 84 ff., verse 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 74 ff., v. 8.

[8] The following lines from the *Ekaliṅgaji Mahātmya* of Mahā Rāna Kumba Karṇa are quoted here:—Ānanda-pura-samāgata-vipra-kulānandanō-mahīdēvah Jayati-Śrī-Gahadattah-prabhavah-Śrī-guhila-vaṁśasya, i.e., Victorious is Śrī Guhadatta, the founder of the Guhila Race, the delight of the families of Brahmanas and come from Ānandapura (Waḍhwāṇ=Vardhamāna), cf. *ibid.*, p. 89.

[9] Beal, *op. et loc. cit.;* Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VIII

DHARASENA II

(A.D. 569 to 589-90)

After the death of Guhasena the Maitraka sceptre passed into the hands of his son Dharasena II. In all about sixteen copper-plate grants of this ruler have been found with dates ranging from V.S. 252 (i.e., A.D. 571) to V.S. 270 (i.e., A.D. 589). The earliest known date of his successor Śīlāditya I is V.S. 286[1] (i.e., A.D. 605) and the last known date of his father, who preceded him, is V.S. 248 (i.e., A.D. 567).[2] This would show that he ruled for about twenty years, from V.S. 250 to V.S. 271 (i.e., A.D. 569 to 589-590).

In his first two grants dated V.S. 252 (i.e., A.D. 571) Dharasena II styles himself '*Sāmanta*', unlike his father Guhasena. This would show that the power of the Maitrakas was on the decline during the early years of Dharasena II. Did the Maukharis seize the opportunity offered by the change of rulers, to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the Maitrakas? Whatever it may be, a few months later, in the month of Vaiśākha of the same year,[3] Dharasena is found dropping the subordinate title of 'Sāmanta'. This was tantamount to defiance of the Maukhari suzerainty and Īśānavarman seems to have at once taken the field against the Maitraka kings. That Dharasena II was at war with him can be also seen from his next record[4] which mentions his camp at Bhadrapaṭṭanaka. But the Maukhari king could not succeed in imposing his hegemony over the Maitraka ruler, and in his next record[5] dated V.S. 254 (i.e., A.D. 573), Dharasena II appears with his former title of *Mahārāja*, indicative of the higher rank. But Īśānavarman was determined to impose his yoke on him and continued the war against him. The former soon found himself unable to continue this unequal struggle. And hounded into flagellation by a powerful external enemy, he saved himself by offering his submission to him. In consequence, in his grants dated V.S. 269 and V.S. 270[6] (i.e., A.D. 588 and 589) he contents himself with the mere title of 'Mahāsāmanta'. Significantly enough, among his attributes Dharasena bears the following one: "who averts calamities that would afflict (his) subjects."[7]

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1 Sten Konow, "The Palitāṇā Plates of Śīlāditya I, Dharmāditya," *E. I.*, XI, p. 115; Bhandarkar, "Two Copper-plates from Valabhī," *I. A.*, I, p. 45.

2 Bühler, *op. cit.*, V, p. 206.

3 Bühler, "A Copper-plate Grant of Dharasena I," *I. A.*, VII, p. 68.

4 *The Bhāvanagar Inscriptions*, pp. 35-39.

5 Diskalkar, "Bantia Plates of Dharasena II, Sam. 254 (257?)," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 179; cf. *Watson Mus. Rept.*, 1925-1926, p. 13.

6 *Op. cit.*

7 Bühler, *op. cit.* (lines 9-13.)

It is possible to infer from this that he came to terms with his enemy in order to avert the destruction and havoc caused to his subjects by these imperialist wars.[1]

This conquest doubtless raised Īśānavarman's status, and he was all but universally acknowledged as the emperor of northern India and proudly designated himself as Mahārājādhirāja,[2] a "resplendent moon in the sky of the circle of princes."[3] His reign is by common consent acknowledged as the heyday of the Maukhari rule.[4] In describing his exploits the Harāhā inscription says: "Being victorious and having princes bending at his feet, (he) occupied the throne after conquering the lord of the Āndhras, who had thousands of threefold rutting elephants, after vanquishing in battle the Śūlikas, who had an army of countless galloping horses, and after causing the Gauḍas, living on the seashore, in future to remain within their proper realm";[5] and adds that "the illustrious Īśānavarman, who had crushed his enemies, was the lord of the earth."[6] It is, therefore, not unreasonable to conclude that under so successful a monarch as Īśānavarman, the Maukharis found no difficulty in lording it over the Maitrakas, and Dharasena II was soon reckoned among the "princes bending at his feet." Since Guhasena is given the title of Mahārāja even in his last inscription issued in V.S. 248 (i.e., A.D. 567)[7] we may take it that the Maitrakas successfully maintained their independence throughout the reign of this king, and it was only after the removal of his strong hand by death, that they were compelled to submit to the power of the Maukharis.

The inscriptions as usual indulge in exaggerated praises of Dharasena's virtues. He is said to have "astonished all the archers by the speciality of (his) innate strength and skill acquired by practice";[8] that he maintained all the gifts of the previous kings; and that like his father he could show that Śrī (wealth) and Saraswati (learning) could live together in his kingdom, a description which is similar to that of Kālidās' Bharatavākya or delineation of an ideal king in his *Vikramorvaśīya.* He was liberal and charitable like the other rulers of his line, a fact which is amply borne out by the large number of grants that have come down to us recording his great donations to various donees irrespective of caste or creed.

Most of his grants were made to the Brāhmaṇas learned in the different vedas. A copper-plate of the year V.S. 252 (i.e., A.D. 571) is a record of a grant

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 115.
[2] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 221.
[3] Śāstri, *E. I.*, XIV, p. 119, verse 11.
[4] Cf. Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
[5] Mazumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 120 (verse 13).
[6] *Ibid* (verse 21).
[7] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*
[8] *Ibid.*

to one Rūdragopa, son of Rūdraghoṣa of Kauśravas gotra, who was a student of the Atharvaveda, and resided at Ānarttapura, i.e., modern Vaḍanagar.[1] Another grant of the same year was made to a Brāhmaṇa named Chchhahara, who was a resident of Brahmapura and who was of the Bhārgava gotra and of the Maitrāyaṇaka śākhā. The purposes for which the grants were made are recorded as in the cases of the other Brāhmaṇa donees in the inscriptions, e.g., the performance of the five great yagñas, viz., Bali, Charu, Vaiṣvadeva, Agnihotra and Atithi. The object of the grant in each case was a certain piece of land the income from which was to be used by the donee for the specified objects. Other grants of this year mention some Brāhmaṇa donees who received similar donations with all the rights of the owners of the land, viz., that of "*vāta*, *bhūta* (i.e., that which is to be cut, reaped or mown), grain, gold and *ādēya*, and forced labour."[2] One more grant of v.s. 254 (or v.s. 257 as read by some scholars) was made on a solar eclipse day. The date of this grant is very important and of special interest, as it helps us to decide the era of the Maitraka records. Two more grants of the year v.s. 269 and v.s. 270 were made for the benefit of the Buddhist Vihāras: one of these was to the Bappapādiya Vihāra which was built by the famous monk Sthiramati, who is mentioned by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, while the name of the other Vihāra is not clear. The purpose of the grant is, as usual, for the repairs, worship, and for supplying the other requirements of the Bhikṣus. In this grant the *dūtaka* is Sāmanta Śīlāditya who probably succeeded Dharasena to the throne of Valabhī. Another grant which is thought to be spurious[3] gives the year 400 of some unknown era. Bühler and other scholars have read it to be the Śaka era.[4]

A copper-plate grant dated G.E. 255 (i.e., A.D. 574) of Sāmanta Mahārāja Siṁhāditya of the Gārulaka family has been found[5] at Palitāṇā along with Maitraka grants. He was a feudatory of the Maitraka king and contemporary of Dharasena II. Did Siṁhāditya remain loyal to him during the days of his difficulties? This, of course, cannot be determined with certainty. The fact that the Maitraka and the Gārulaka grants were found at the same place, induces us to believe that they did remain so, while the absence in the present record of any reference to the Maitrakas as Mahārājas in contrast to the previous grant, would show that the Gārulakas may have attempted to make themselves independent of their overlords.

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1 Altekar, *A History of Important Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kāthiawār*, pp. 14-15; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

2 Fleet, *op. cit.*, plate XXIV, p. 164 (lines 26-27).

3-4 Bühler, "The Copper-plate Grant of Dharasena II," *I. A.*, X, p. 278.

5 Hultzsch, "Palitāṇā Plates of Siṁhaditya, dated 255," *E. I.*, XI, p. 16.

CHAPTER IX

SILADITYA I

(c. A.D. 590-615)

Śīlāditya I[1] was the son and successor of Dharasena II. He was called Dharmāditya or the "sun of religion." He took particular care in following the model of the great kings of old.

As seen above the last known date of his predecessor Dharasena II is V.S. 270[2] (i.e., c. A.D. 589), and the first known date of his successor Kharagraha I is V.S. 297[3] (i.e., A.D. 616). This shows that he must have ruled for about twenty-five years, which may be reconciled to the round number of thirty years' reign, assigned to him in the *Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa.*[4] If this is granted, we may suppose that he succeeded his father in c. A.D. 590 and since his successor Kharagraha I's known date is A.D. 616, Śīlāditya's reign seems to have come to an end in about A.D. 615.

There are, in all, eleven copper-plate grants of this ruler known to us, and giving dates from V.S. 286[5] (i.e., c. A.D. 605) to V.S. 292[6] (i.e., A.D. 611). Besides these copper-plate grants, the *Śatruñjaya Māhātmya* has a prophetic account of Śīlāditya as one who will be propagator of religion in Vikrama Saṁvat 477.[7] But Vikrama Saṁvat 477 corresponds to A.D. 420 and at this epoch the Maitrakas had not yet assumed rule over Surāṣṭra. However, if Vikraṁa Saṁvat is taken as a mistake for Śaka Saṁvat, it would then correspond to the Gupta-Valabhī Saṁvat 237 or A.D. 556. But even then this would amount to, according to our chronology, ante-dating Śīlāditya by forty to fifty years. This, however, should not disturb us, in any way, since it is known that the work is comparatively modern, and consequently, not much confidence could be reposed on its evidence. The fact seems to have been that the author took the current tradition about the Maitrakas and noted it down in his work, but paid little heed to chronology. Nevertheless, there should be no

1 The name Śīlāditya was a favourite on with the Buddhists who valued virtue (शील Sīla) more than valour (विक्रम Vikrama).

2 Bühler, "Aliṇā Plates of Dharasena II," *I. A.*, VII, p. 71.

3 Gadre, "The Amreli Plates of Kharagraha I, V.S. 297," *Important Inscriptions of the Baroda State*, p. 7 ff; Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Saṁvat 297," *Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, p. 659 ff; *Annual Report of the Watson Museum*, 1933-34, pp. 7-8.

4 Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 24.

5 Bhandarkar, "A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 46; Sten Konow, "The Copper-plate Grant of the Valabhī king Śīlāditya I," *E. I.*, XI, p. 115.

6 Banerjee, "The Bhadreṇika Grant of Śīlāditya I, G.E. 292," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 116 ff.

7 "Sapta-Saptatimabdānāmatikramya Chatuḥ Śatiṁ; Vikramāchchhilādityobhavitā-dharma-Vṛddhaddhikṛt." *Śatruñjaya Mahātmya*, verse 286; cf. Gadre, *op. cit.*, p. 8, n. 24.

doubt that the Śīlāditya mentioned here, is the same as Śīlāditya I, for as in the inscriptions, here also he is called Śīlāditya Dharmāditya.

The dynastic account as given in the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* and the copper-plate grants of Śīlāditya, and the extent of his territories, as can be gathered from them and from those of his successors, settle once for all the controversy started by Dr. Hoernle.[1] Śīlāditya's rule extended over the territory from "Ujjain in Eastern Mālavā upto the western Ocean or to Cutch, which in terms of the Purānic geography" is the limit of the western country.[2] This Śilāditya is rightly identified by Prof. M. Sylvain Levi with Śīlāditya of Mo-la-po (Mālavā)[3] mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.[4] It is certain that Mālavā was included within the dominions of the Maitrakas. The Virdi plates of his successor, dated V.S. 297 (i.e., A.D. 616), were actually issued from Ujjain, the capital of Mālavā.[5]

An excursion into the political history of this period is, therefore, necessary to account for this extension of his kingdom on the part of Śīlāditya I, since Mālavā had never formed a part of the Maitraka kingdom. It was fortunate for Śīlāditya that he should have ruled at a time when the various powers of Hindustan were exhausting themselves by constant warfare. Towards the end of the sixth century the later Guptas of Mālavā came into conflict with the Kaḷachuris of the Chedi country. This conflict probably arose due to the machination of Devagupta who evidently was a scion of the Gupta family.[6] Devagupta would appear to have entered into a conspiracy against his kinsman Mahāsenagupta, the then ruler of Mālavā, and agreed to have acknowledged the supremacy of Śaṅkaragaṇa on condition that he (Devagupta) was installed as the sovereign of Mālavā. The Abhoṇā plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa seem to allude

[1] Hoernle, "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 545 ff; 1909, p. 122 ff. The controversy started by Dr. Hoernle was about identifying Śilāditya of Mālavā, mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang with Yaśōdharman of Mālavā, the conqueror of the Hūṇas. But Jayaswal's account based on the *Mañju-Śri-Mūla-Kalpa* makes it clear that it was Śilāditya, the Maitraka king who ruled over Mālavā (cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24). This is further supported by a grant of Śilāditya's immediate successor Kharagraha, issued from Ujjain in A.D. 616 (cf. Gadre, *op. cit.*, p. 7 ff). Dr. Hoernle's views are discussed in Appendix A.

[2] Jayaswal, "Places and People in Aśōka's Inscriptions," *I. A.*, LXII, p. 121 ff.

[3] Sylvain Levi, *Journal des Savants*, 1905, pp. 544-48; cf. Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 344.

[4] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 260; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242.

[5] Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Samvat 297," *Proceedings of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 659 ff.

[6] The suggestion (cf. Hoernle, *op. cit.*, 1904; Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, p. 180; Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 65) that Devagupta must have been a son of Mahāsenagupta, does not seem very reasonable. In the absence of any mention of such relationship in the family records, it is wise not to go beyond the suggestion that he was a scion of the Gupta family. Moreover, if they were so related, would Bāṇa, who pays so much attention even to little details, have failed to note this interesting fact?

to the same fact, when they relate that he " re-installed families of kings who had long been dethroned," and " uprooted those that were too proud."[1] The disaffection between Devagupta and Mahāsenagupta is also clear from the omission of the former from the official genealogy of the Guptas, which was continued in their records, when after the death of Harṣa, Ādityasena, the son of Mādhavagupta, established his power at Magadha.[2] It is also possible, as Dr. Hemachandra Raychaudhuri has pointed out, that Devagupta represented a collateral line of the Mālavā family, who were opposed to the policy of friendship with Thāṇeśvara and Kanauj.[3] For it must be borne in mind that a Gupta princess, Devī-Mahāsenaguptā, probably a sister of Mahāsenagupta, had been married to Ādityavardhana of the Thāṇeśvara dynasty.[4] Dāmodargupta, the father of Mahāsenagupta, is actually credited with stopping the progress of the Maukharis, who were the traditional enemies of the Guptas of Mālavā,[5] and the marriage alliance between the two houses may have been brought about for this purpose. But not long after a grand-daughter of this Gupta princess, Rājyaśrī, was married to Grahavarman, the Maukhari king, and the Maukharis were thus brought within the ambit of the allies of the Gupta house.

Mahāsenagupta must have suffered a terrible disaster at the hands of the allies and was probably killed in the battle.[6] After this event his two sons Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta fled to Thāṇeśvar and found shelter at the

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[1] Pathak, " Abhoṇā Plates of Saṅkaragaṇa, K. Sam. 347," *E. I.*, IX, p. 299 ff.

[2] Fleet, " Apṣad Inscription of Adityasena," and " Deo-Baraṇārk Inscription of Jivitagupta II," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 200 ff. Jayaswal, *op. et loc. cit.*, App. II, c.

[3] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 514.

[4] That Prabhākarvardhana was the son of Ādityavardhana and Devi-Mahasenagupta is known from the Sōnapat copper-seal inscription (cf. Fleet, *op. cit.* p. 232 and also the Introduction *C. I. I.*, III, p. 15). From her cognomen Gupta, it has been assumed that the latter was a sister of Mahāsenagupta (cf. Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.* followed by Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 405; Dandekar, *op. cit.*, p. 174; Saletore, *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 63, rejects without assigning reasons the suggestion of P. S. Parakhi in his *Life of Harṣa* (Marathi) that Devi-Mahāsenagupta was the sister of Dāmōdargupta and follows Fleet. But Parakhi's suggestion is untenable (*vide* App. No. A, C) though apparently it looks plausible. We know from the *Harṣacharita*, p. 119, that Prabhākarvardhana was a contemporary of Mahāsenagupta and that the sons of the latter were play-mates of Prabhākarvardhana's sons Rājyavardhana and Harṣa. This makes it difficult, though not impossible, to believe that Devi-Mahāsenagupta was Mahāsenagupta's sister. The disparity in age, inferred from the circumstance that she belonged to the previous generation, would rather suggest that she was a sister of Dāmodargupta, father of Mahāsenagupta. But as against this we have to bear in mind the fact that since the kings married young and had many wives taken at different times, the disparity in age among the children was nothing unusual.

[5] Cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.* III, p. 200 ff. The Aphṣad inscription says that Dāmodargupta, the son of Kūmāragupta broke up " the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis."

[6] Ganguli, " Mālava in the 6th and the 7th Centuries," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, p. 399 ff.

court of their relation Prabhākarvardhana,[1] and Mālavā passed under the rule of Devagupta. Though no inscriptions of the latter have come down to us, the fact is nonetheless clear from the Thāṇeśvar records.[2] But Devagupta had to observe scrupulously the terms of the agreement he had entered into with Śaṅkaragaṇa. The aforementioned Abhoṇā plates were issued from Ujjain, the capital of Mālavā, a circumstance which would show that the Kaḷachuris had then imposed their hegemony on the Guptas of Mālavā. Shortly after this Prabhākarvardhana appears to have taken up the cause of the Gupta princes and led an army against Mālavā.[3] It is probable that he was joined by his son-in-law and ally Grahavarman.[4] Though he claims to have taken away the glory of the Mālavā king,[5] Prabhākarvardhana could not drive the Kaḷachuris and their feudatory Devagupta from their possessions in Mālavā, and restore them to Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta. As may be seen from his Abhoṇā plates, Śaṅkaragaṇa firmly established his power at Ujjain,[6] and it is clear from the Saṅkheda inscription of the time of Nirihullaka, a feudatory of Śaṅkaragaṇa, that he had extended his power as far as southern Gujarāt.[7] Now Bāṇa describes Prabhākarvardhana also as " a looter to the lawlessness of the Lāts."[8] It is well known that the Lāṭa country is the tract of land lying between the Tāptī and the Mahī rivers, and has been described by Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra*, a work written in the third century, as situated to the west of Mālavā.[9] It is, therefore, possible that in the war with Prabhākarvardhana, Devagupta received valuable help also from the other feudatories of Śaṅkaragaṇa such as Nirihullaka[10] and the Gurjaras[11] between whom the Lāṭa country was then divided. We may take it

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1 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 119 and in the Aphṣad inscription (Fleet, *C. I. I.* III, p. 200 ff.) it is stated that one of these princes Mādhavagupta was filled " with the desire to associate himself with the glorious Harṣadeva." Thus Bāṇa's statement is confirmed by epigraphical evidence also.

2 The Madhuban and Baṁskheda inscriptions class Devagupta among kings " who resembled wicked horses, and who were ultimately vanquished by Rājyavardhana " (Bühler, " Baṇskhera Plate of Harṣa," *E. I.*, IV, p. 210; Bühler, " Madhuban Plates of Harṣa," *E. I.*, I, p. 72; Kielhorn, " Madhuban Plates," *E. I.*, VII, p. 157). Since no other Gupta house is known to have held sway anywhere else at this time, it follows that Devagupta was the ruler of Mālavā and is to be identified with " the wicked king of Mālavā " Bāṇa speaks of.

3 Ganguli, *op. cit.*, p. 405.

4 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 173. This is inferred from the attack of Devagupta on Kanauj, shortly after this, and the death of Grahavarman that followed, which would otherwise be unprovoked, and which would appear to have been the result of the sequence of events.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 101.

6 Pathak, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 Dhruve " Three land-grants from Saṅkheda," *E. I.*, II, p. 26 ff. This record in describing Nirihullaka as one who meditates on the feet of Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kṛṣṇarāja, clearly implies that Nirihullaka had acknowledged the overlordship of Śaṅkaragaṇa.

8 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

9 *Vide Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 7.

10 Dhruve, *op. et loc. cit.*

11 Appendix B.

that at least a contingent from the Lāṭa country fought side by side with the Mālavā troops.

Śaṅkaragaṇa died after an exceptionally successful reign, sometime before A.D. 602.[1] In the reign of his son Buddharāja the Kaḷachuri advance was checked by the rising power of the Chālukyas. The struggle between the two powers seems to have continued for about a decade. The Mahākuta pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa, issued in April A.D. 602, records a crushing defeat inflicted on Buddharāja by this king. " Having set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region," says this record, " and having conquered king Buddha (and) having taken possession of all his substance, [he desired] to set up a pillar of victory of his prowess on the bank of (the river) Bhagirathī."[2] The Nerur plates refer to this victory, when they relate that Maṅgaleśa " had driven out king Buddha, who was the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa, and who was possessed of the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure." [3] It was inevitable that the two powers should come to a clash. The Kaḷachuris were extending their conquest to the south and the south-west, while Maṅgaleśa as the Mahākuta inscription aptly observes, had already " set (his) heart upon the conquest of the northern region."[4] But it was not an easy thing to defeat the Kaḷachuris. It is evident from the description, in the Chālukyan inscriptions,[5] of the armies which Buddharāja launched against the Chālukyas, that he was indeed a formidable adversary.[6] And it seems certain that had Maṅgaleśa to deal with him single-handed, Buddharāja would have surely given him a short shrift. But fortunately for the Chālukyas the Kaḷachuri king had also to fight against enemies nearer home, viz., the Puṣpabhūti-Maukhari combination, which was bent on reinstating the Gupta princes Kumāragupta and Mādhavagupta in Mālavā. In describing Vidiśa, the present Besnagar, one of the chief cities of Mālavā at this time, as " his camp of victory," the Vaḍner plates of Buddharāja,[7] which record a grant of land in

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1 Fleet, " The Mahākuta Pillar Inscription of the Chālukya king Maṅgalesa," *I. A.*, XIX, p. 19 ff. From this inscription it is clear that Buddharāja succeeded Śaṅkaragaṇa in or about A.D. 602 when he is said to have been defeated by Maṅgleśa.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Fleet, " Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VII, p. 162.

4 Fleet, " The Mahākuta Pillar Inscription of the Chālukya king Maṅgalesa," *I. A.*, XIX, p. 19 ff.

5 *Ibid;* Kielhorn, " Aihole Inscription of Pulikesin II," *E. I.*, VI, p. 8; Fleet, " Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VII, p. 162.

6 The fact that the Kaḷachuri king was the formidable adversary of the Chālukyas is evident from the Aihole *praśasti* of Pulikesin II, who, notwithstanding the fact that he had every reason to pass over in silence the achievements of his uncle because of his attempt to deprive him of his inheritance, proudly claims his feat against the Kaḷachuris. " Maṅgaleśa," says the inscription, " took in marriage the damsel, the fortune of the Kaḷachuris, having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with hundreds of bright rayed lamps (viz.) swords (of his followers) and was desirous of taking the island of Revati " (*E. I.*, VI, p. 8).

7 Gupte, " Vaḍner Plates of Buddharāja, K. Sam. 360," *E. I.*, XII, No. 7, p. 33.

the Vāṭananagara-Bhōga (i.e., Chandward tāluka, Nāsik district) in the extreme south of his dominions, clearly imply that the king had been called up north-east, presumably to repel an invasion of these enemies.

The Kaḷachuris could not withstand the onslaughts delivered simultaneously from north and south: their resources were exhausted before long, and their power came to a violent end.

With the disappearance of the imperial Kaḷachuris from the arena, Devagupta may have assumed independence. At any rate, he is no longer referred to in a subordinate capacity and is next met with as an ally of Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauda.[1] The fact appears to have been that at this time Śaśāṅka, who was trying to throw off the overlordship of Kāmarūpa, must have been as much in need of an ally as Devagupta himself. We know that Karṇasūvarṇa once formed part of the dominions of Bhāskaravarman (Kāmarūpa) since his Nidhānpur plates were issued from this place.[2] But it is clear from Bāṇa that it had changed hands by A.D. 610-611,[3] and Śaśāṅka was in undisputed possession of it—thus testifying to the success that crowned his efforts. Thus community of interest may have driven Devagupta and Śaśāṅka into each other's arms. Our view finds confirmation in the slow and steady rise of Śaśāṅka to imperial power. At first he was no better than a feudal chief, and he actually appears in his Rohtasgaḍh stone seal inscription as a Mahāsāmanta only.[4] But in A.D. 619-620 he had already attained to imperial status.[5]

Such was the realignment of powers after the disappearance of the Kaḷachuris from the historical stage. Happily for Devagupta and his ally, the Puṣpabhūtis were threatened by a new menace on their north-western frontiers. This was the old scourge that had afflicted the Gupta empire in their last days and concluded this most glorious epoch in our history. The Hūṇas, who were showing signs of new activity, had to be nipped in the bud, if history were not to repeat itself. Accordingly, Prabhākarvardhana mustered a mighty host. But being too ill to assume himself the supreme command, he placed his elder son Rājyavardhana at the head of his troops.[6] Even so the effort

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1 It has been suggested that Śaśāṅka allied himself with Devagupta because of his blood relationship, both being of the Gupta family (cf. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 183). This latter fact, it is said, is borne out by the appellation 'Narendragupta' applied to Śaśāṅka. In the absence of authentic information on this point, the suggestion may be left at this. What seems to have brought the two princes together was not so much, as we have demonstrated, blood-relationship as their immediate common interest.

2 Bhaṭṭacharya, "Nidhānpur Copper-plates of Bhāskarvarman," *E. I.*, XII, p. 73.

3 Appendices C, F.

4 Fleet, "Rohtasgaḍh Stone Seal-Matrix of the Mahāsāmanta Saśāṅkadeva," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 283.

5 Hultzsch, "Plates of the time of Saśāṅkarāja G. Saṁvat 300," *E. I.*, VI, p. 143. The inscription refers to him as exercising his authority over Sāmantas, and calls him Mahārājādhirāja.

6 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

which this danger called forth, and the anxiety the situation caused, were too much for the ailing monarch, and he succumbed to his illness before the decision of the issue. This was a golden opportunity for Devagupta to aggrandise himself at the expense of his enemies. He first surprised Kanauj; Grahavarman was taken unawares, and in the absence of any support from Thāṇeśwar, the Maukhari kingdom fell an easy prey to the invader. "On the very day," says Bāṇa, "on which the king's [Prabhākarvardhana's] death was rumoured his majesty Grahavarman was by the wicked lord of Mālavā cut off from the living along with his noble deeds."[1] The king had been so completely taken by surprise that he found no time even to remove his family to a place of safety. In consequence the royal seraglio fell into the hands of the victor. The king was beheaded and the queen Rājaśrī was sentenced to spend the rest of her life behind prison bars. "Rājaśrī also," the message concluded, "had been confined like a brigand's wife with a pair of iron fetters kissing her feet, and cast into prison at Kānyakubja."[2]

Following up his victory Devagupta decided next to invade Thāṇeśwar itself.[3] By this time, however, Rājyavardhana had already arrived at his capital, having brought the war against the Hūṇas to a victorious conclusion.[4] On receipt of news of the impending invasion of his territories by Devagupta, he left Harṣa in charge of the administration and marched against the enemy with his cousin Bhaṇḍi in command of 10,000 horse. Bāṇa would have us believe that with ridiculous ease he routed the Mālavā army[5] but was shortly afterwards treacherously killed by Devagupta's ally, Śaśāṅka, the king of Gauda.[6] The latter would seem to have invited him to a parley and thus "allured to confidence by false civilities," to quote Bāṇa again, "on the part of the king of Gauḍa and then weaponless, confiding, and alone (was) despatched in his own quarters."[7]

A fact of supreme importance for the understanding of the relative position of the contending parties emerges from the circumstances under which "the murder" of Rājyavardhana was committed. To have accepted the invitation to a parley, and that too in the enemy's own camp, shows that the decision of the issue must have been still in dispute, the parties equally matched, and the balance slightly tilting in favour of Śaśāṅka. Furthermore, the

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1 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
2 *Ibid.*
3 *Ibid.*
4 Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 349.
5 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
6 *Ibid.* Bāṇa is not clear as to the allurement offered by Saśāṅka. But Saṅkara, an old commentator of the Harṣacharita, would have us believe that he enticed Rājyavardhana by the offer of his daughter in marriage. He adds that while the banquet was in progress in the Gauda camp, Śaśāṅka killed his would-be son-in-law in disguise. Śaṅkara, however, is a later writer whose source of information is not known to us.
7 *Ibid.*

Madhuban plates of Harṣa significantly observe, in regard to Rājyavardhana's achievements, that he "curbed Devagupta" merely which would mean that at this juncture, the latter was far from being crushed—an eventuality for the successful accomplishment of which,—Rājyavardhana, at any rate, was not responsible. But Bāṇa nevertheless refers to "the Mālavā king's army and royal equipage won by the power of his majesty Rājyavardhana's arms,"[1] a circumstance from which it may probably be inferred that the advance into Kānyakubja was made by Devagupta alone, and it was only when he was on the point of being routed by Rājyavardhana that he appealed to Śaśāṇka for assistance ; and the latter's timely appearance helped not only to restore the balance but also to retrieve the losses already suffered by Devagupta. Rājyavardhana, it is plain, had underrated the potential powers of the Mālavā usurper : "why thus dear brother," he is reported to have said to Harṣa when the latter begged leave to join in the expedition, "by putting forth too great an effort, add importance to a foe too slight for our power ? A concourse of lions in the matter of a deer is too degrading."[2] The Thāṇeśwar troops were overwhelmed by the superior numbers which the Gauda king must have brought to the relief of Devagupta, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Bhaṇḍi could escape with the spoils they had won by defeating the Mālavā troops.[3] This becomes evident from the way in which Bāṇa describes Bhaṇḍi when he made his appearance before Harṣa in "his soiled garb, his breast filled with the points of enemies' arrows, like an array of iron pins implanted to restrain his heart from bursting . . ."[4] Whatever may have been the actual fact connected with Rājyavardhana's death, whether he was treacherously murdered or was captured and then dispatched,[5] it is, at all events, evident that the tables were turned against him with the appearance of Śaśāṅka on the scene. Despite the visible efforts of Bāṇa to conceal the defeats of Rājyavardhana under the cover of treachery, the following words which he puts into Harṣa's mouth, make it abundantly clear that the expedi-

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1 Bāṇa, *op. cit.* p. 225.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 176.

3 From the fact that Rājyavardhana had defeated the Mālavā army, the late Rao Bahadur R. P. Chanda concluded that the defeat was inflicted in Mālavā itself. But the circumstances do not warrant this inference. Devagupta, at this time, was actually in possession of Kanauj. Nor is there any support for the Rao Bahadur's opinion that Bhaṇḍi was sent back to Thāṇeśwar after his victory over Mālavā. What seems to have transpired was that, as said above, with the appearance of Śaśāṅka on the scene, the Thāṇeśwar troops were overpowered, and Rājyavardhana fell into the enemy's hands; when it was found impossible to rescue the sovereign, Bhaṇḍi did the next best thing, viz., to prevent a wholesale surrender and by a skilful rearguard action succeeded in reaching Thāṇeśwar.

4 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

5 It is not unlikely that Rājyavardhana's death was caused by treachery because he was killed in an unarmed and captive state, an inference justified by the circumstances, according to Bāṇa, under which his death was brought about: "weaponless, confiding and alone." This, according to the rules of warfare among the Kṣatriyas, was considered unheroic and cowardly. Cf. Max Muller, *Laws of Manu, S. B. E.*, XXV, p. 231.

tion had ended in a disaster : " the hot pain of my brother's defeat forbids even the briefest delay in marching."[1] The war was thus an unqualified victory for the allied powers, and Bāṇa admits it as such in the laconic reply of Bhaṇḍi to Harṣavardhana : " After his majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise . . . Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta . . ."[2] It is needless to point out that this Gupta could be none else than Devagupta himself. A serious task now confronted the young prince to seek out his widowed sister, and to avenge his brother's defeat and death. But Harṣa rose equal to the task. He issued a proclamation, that all kings "as far as the Orient hill, . . . as far as Suvela[3] . . . as far as the western mound . . . as far as Gandhamādana . . . (must) prepare their hands to give tribute or grasp swords."[4] This was in sober language, an order to his feudatories to manifest their real intentions either to place themselves and their resources under the command of their liege-lord, or fight him. Thus assured of their loyalty, Harṣa himself

1 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 191. We are glad to note that our doubt as to the supposed murder of Rājyavardhana was shared by the late Rao Bahadur R. P. Chanda who in his *Gauḍa Rājamāla*, pp. 8-10, arguing from different premises, actually concluded that Rājyavardhana had been killed in a fair fight, a conclusion which we again find, is supported by R. D. Banerji (*History of Orissa*, I, p. 126; *Bāṅglar Itihasa*, Part I, p. 107) and Mazumdar (*Early History of Bengal*, p. 17). Dr. Basak, in his *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 146, has, however, disputed this conclusion. His first argument is that Harṣa would not have prepared an expensive and elaborate expedition at this tender age " but for the fact that he wished to avenge the treacherous death of his brother." Dr. Basak has here failed to gauge the gravity of the situation after the defeat of the Thāṇeśwar army, when Thāṇeśwar itself must have been threatened by the combined forces of Devagupta and Śaśāṅka, who were now the undisputed masters of Kanauj. The second argument of Basak is equally futile, viz., that it was the treachery practised on Rājyavardhana that made " Harṣa's vassals and independent rulers " support his cause. For one thing, despite the disastrous end of the expedition, the resources of Thāṇeṣwar were still considerable for the vassals to think of renouncing their allegiance to the Vardhanas; and secondly, if an independent king like Bhāskarvarman proposed an alliance with Harṣa, it was because he himself had been either already hard pressed by Śaśāṅka, or was becoming apprehensive of his increasing power, and found in the war between the Gauḍas and the Puṣpabhūtis, a favourable occasion to broach the question of alliance, to safeguard his own interests. But it is more probable, as has been hinted at above, it was under the terms of an offensive and defensive treaty, already subsisting between the two powers, that Bhāskarvarman came to the help of Harṣa. The statement of Dr. Basak that " there was no record of any fight between Rājyavardhana and Śaśāṅka " is disproved by the passage quoted above where Bāṇa in an unguarded moment, as it would seem, has given expression to the truth of the matter. We are not insensitive to the cumulative effect of the inscriptional evidence (cf. Kielhorn, " Madhuban Plates of Harṣa," *E. I.*, VII, p. 159 and Bühler, " Banskhera Plates of Harṣa," *E. I.*, IV, pp. 208-211) backed by that of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsiang (cf. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 343 and Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 210). But it should be noted that it is one-sided, and may have been intended by Bāṇa, who was living under the patronage of Harṣa, and Hiuen Tsiang, who had every reason to hate a persecutor of Buddhism such as Śaśāṅka, to malign the latter.

2 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

3 A mountain in Laṅka, Ceylon.

4 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

went in search of his sister, while he entrusted to Baṇḍhi the more difficult task of leading the attack on Śaśāṅka and his ally.[1] Both these missions were crowned with success. Arriving at the nick of time when Rājaśrī was preparing to plunge herself into the funeral pyre, Harṣa saved her from a cruel death. Baṇḍhi, whose exploits are not recorded for us by any writer, must also have carried all before him, since Harṣa is very soon seen in secure possession of Kānauj.[2] In summing up the result of this expedition, the *Mañju-Śri-Mūla-kalpa*, a later Buddhist work, tells us that Śaśāṅka was reduced to abject submission and was thereafter compelled to confine himself to his own kingdom.[3] This remark, of course, should not be taken literally, for the reason that Śaśāṅka was still in his ascendancy as late as A.D. 619-620. So much so that not only was he able to preserve his own kingdom of Gauḍa intact, but even have his suzerainty acknowledged by kings beyond his frontiers.[4] In fact, in a record of the Silōdhōhavā family of Orissa, issued in the year 300 of the Gupta era (A.D. 619-620), the chief Mādhavarāja II, who here describes himself as " Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta " in referring to the reign of " Mahā-rājadhirāja the glorious Śaśāṅka,"[5] acknowledges by implication that the latter was his overlord. It is, therefore, doubtful if during his campaign Baṇḍhi succeeded in penetrating into Śaśāṅka's dominions further than Kośala, especially because, as is evident from the above record, the country to the east of the present Ganjam district was still included within Śaśāṅka's empire.

This struggle between Harṣa and Śaśāṅka seems to have continued for a considerably long period ; and it is clear even in the light of the evidence furnished by sources favourable to Harṣa, that he could not have prevailed over his adversary. The *Mañju-Śri-Mūla-kalpa*, while extolling his achieve-

[1] Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

[2] The fact that Harṣa entertained scruples about proclaiming himself the king of the Maukhari dominions, is clear from Bāṇa (*op. cit.*, p. 57) and Hiuen Tsiang's account (Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 343). This unwillingness to comply with the request of his counsellors was due to the fact that Harṣa was afraid lest this step should antagonise the people of Kanauj for the reason that he was not the rightful heir. But things had come to such a pass that they had now to choose between Harṣa and Śaśāṅka. For in the event of Harṣa not accepting the kingdom, Śaśāṅka was ready to pounce on it. In these circumstances they may not have thought it advisable to leave the power in the hands of their young queen Rājyaśri, and run the risk of their country being again invaded by Śaśāṅka's armies. Harṣa, on his part, proceeded very cautiously in the matter, preferring to be called merely " Kūmāra " until such time when he became assured that his assumption of the supreme power in the state had the approval of the whole populace. It was only then that he dared to style himself as Mahārāja (e.g., in the Nālandā Seal of Harṣa, *A. S. I. R.*, Eastern Circle, 1917-18, p. 44) and probably made Kanauj his capital.

[3] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[4] Nagendra Nath, *The Social History of Kāmarūpa*, I, p. 147.

[5] Hultzsch, *op. et loc. cit.*

ments, is constrained to admit that he could not make headway towards the east, and was compelled to beat a retreat homewards :

> " Parājayāmasa Sōmākhyaṁ duṣṭakarmānuchāriṇam
> tatō niṣiddhah sōmākhyō Svadeśenāvatiṣṭatah । (725)
> nivartayāmāsa hakārākhyō mlechchharājyemapūjitah
> tuṣṭakarmā hakārākhyō nṛpah śreyasā chārthadharmiṇah (726)
> Svadeśenaiva prayātah yatheṣṭagatināpi vā " (7279)

In the light of this passage[1] we may picture to ourselves the grand strategy determined upon by Harṣa or rather by Baṇḍhi, his general. It was that Śaśāṅka's dominions should be attacked simultaneously by Baṇḍhi from the north-west and Bhāskaravarman from his kingdom of Assam in the north-east. The converging point of the allies was some place in the northern portion of Bengal, from which they were to march on Śaśāṅka's capital, Karṇasuvarṇa. But Śaśāṅka drew a wedge as it were, between the hostile armies and made it impossible for them to join their forces. He crushed the forces of Bhāskarvarman, who is not so much as mentioned in the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa;* while Harṣa, who had advanced as far as Puṇḍra in north Bengal, " not being honoured with welcome in these foreign countries,"[2] as this work euphemistically puts it—" returned leisurely to his own kingdom." The inference to which we are led is not that Śaśāṅka " escaped with little loss," as Dr. Vincent Smith has concluded,[3] but that Harṣa had reason to be thankful that Baṇḍhi was able to withdraw his army without heavy loss. Again when the *AMMK* says that Harṣa returned to his own kingdom with the satisfaction that he achieved victory, it evidently magnifies out of all proportion, as is not unusual in Buddhist sources while speaking of Buddhist kings, the successful depredation of the enemy country till Pundra. The results of the expedition were, therefore, nugatory in the extreme. Nor does the argument of Basak, viz., that " Śaśāṅka's defeat is also indicated by the gold coins which were largely debased by a great mixture of silver,"[4] establish his point. The debasement of currency need not necessarily show a defeat of the power issuing such coinage. It only indicates that the period was one of stress and strain and financial stringency. An exact parallel to the circumstances then facing Śaśāṅka is provided by the British Government in the second world war. The currency was then debased not as a result of England's defeat, but because the ever-growing expenses of the war had to be met, among other things, by this device.

That being so, we may take it that the conflict between the two powers continued unabated[5] till the death of Śaśāṅka somewhere about the year A.D. 625.

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1 " He (Harṣa) defeated Soma (Śaśāṅka) the pursuer of wicked deeds; and Soma was forbidden to move out of his country (being ordered) to remain therein (thenceforth). He returned having (or not having) been honoured in that kingdom of the barbarian."

2 *Vide*, Basak, *op. et loc. cit.*

3 Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

4 Basak, " Śaśāṅka, king of Bengal," *I. H. Q.*, VIII, p. 150.

5 Majumdar, *The History of Bengal*, I, p. 64.

An event which occurred in the course of this struggle, and which had repercussions on the history of the Maitrakas, is that Devagupta is heard of no more. It seems probable that when Kānyakubja was wrested from the allies, Śaśāṅka was confined to his own kingdom, that is to say put on the defensive. Devagupta probably may have either died or resigned from his active life in the course of the conflict. But strangely enough, the ancient kingdom of Mālavā was not annexed to Harṣa's empire, as it should have been. On the contrary we now find it in the possession of Śīlāditya, the Maitraka king.[1] How is this to be explained? The suggestion offers itself that on the fall of Devagupta, Śaśāṅka may have allied himself with Śīlāditya and offered as a *quid pro quo* the province of Mālavā, which was now without a ruler. This suggestion is supported by the fact that no sooner did Harṣa find himself safe on his eastern frontiers consequent on the death of his formidable enemy Śaśāṅka, than he attacked the Maitraka kingdom. This is seen from the Gurjara records.[2]

King Śīlāditya was a man of a very lively nature. In Hiuen Tsiang's account he is described as a man who "from the time of his birth never crimsoned with anger, nor did his hands ever injure a living thing. His elephants and horses," it is further said, "drank water that has been strained after which he gave it to them, lest any creature living in water should be injured."[3] In these words his love of humanity is described. He was a man of eminent wisdom and great learning, and his skill in literature was profound.[4] The Maitraka copper-plate grants describe him as a liberal and religious man. His great intellectual abilities as recorded in the grants must have been due to his knowledge of different philosophies acquired by him from preceptors like Dhaneśvara and others. His skill in literature, as described by the Chinese traveller, receives confirmation from the description of him in the epigraphical records as a poet,[5] while his generosity is manifest from a good number of grants that have come down to us recording his donations to individuals and institutions.

We know that like most of the Maitraka rulers Śīlāditya I was also a staunch Śaivite. His various grants have recorded his liberality towards the

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[1] This is inferred from the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang (Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*), who says that Śīlāditya was the ruler of Mālavā, and also from the Virdi copper-plate grant of his immediate successor Kharagraha I, dated V.S. 297, i.e., A.D. 616 which was actually issued from Ujjain; cf. Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Sam. 297," *The Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, p. 659 ff.

[2] Bhagwanlal Indraji, "The Nausāri Grant of Jayabhatta II of the Gurjara family, Che. Sam. 456," *I. A.*, XIII, p. 79; Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, II, p. 42 ff. (No. 117).

[3] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 260-262; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarāt*, I, p. 181; Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Copper-plate Record," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 77; Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 14 ff.

Brāhmaṇas.[1] One of his grants dated v.s. 290 (i.e., A.D. 609) was made to a temple of Mahādeva[2]—which is a rare instance, looking to the fact that though almost all the kings of the Maitraka line were Paramamaheśvaras, no other grant to a Śaivite institution is known to exist. This may perhaps be accounted for by the fact that such grants have either been lost in the course of the centuries or, which is more probable, that Śaivism being the religion of the rulers, the Śiva temples were state foundations and maintained from the state revenue. But a Śiva temple referred to in one of the Valabhī grants[3] also shows that even private individuals undertook the building of Śiva temples. It may incidentally be observed that one of these copper-plates records a grant made by Śīlāditya to a sun-temple in the year v.s. 292 (i.e., A.D. 611)[4]—a unique instance of a Maitraka ruler's patronage of Sun-worship. The benefits of Śīlāditya's liberality were also enjoyed by members of other religions. The *Śatruñjaya-Mahātmya*, a Jaina work, mentions that its author was a preceptor of Śīlāditya; while as regards the Buddhists there are specific instances of grants made to them. Two of these—one dated v.s. 286 (i.e., A.D. 605) and the other whose date cannot be ascertained—were made to a Buddhist Vihāra in Vaṁśakata, which was built by the king himself. The grants of v.s. 287 (i.e., A.D. 606) and v.s. 290 (i.e., A.D. 609) were made for the benefit of the Bhikkuṇis of the Yakṣasūra Vihāra. Describing his favour to the Buddhists, Hiuen Tsiang has remarked that he " cherished and protected the four kinds of creatures, and deeply respected the three treasures."[5] " By the side of his palace Śīlāditya built a Vihāra,"[6] and " He exhausted the skill of the artists, and used every kind of ornament in decorating it. In it he put images of seven Buddhas, Lords of the world."[7] " Every year ", says Hiuen Tsiang, " he convoked an assembly called *Mokṣa Mahā-Pariṣad*, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them " the four things," in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety."[8] This very well shows that the meritorious custom started by Śīlāditya continued in practice, till Hiuen Tsiang's time, i.e., A.D. 640. All this shows the broad religious outlook of this Śaivite king. The spirit of *Sarvadharma-samabhāva* or catholicity of the mind of the Maitrakas, is best illustrated

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[1] An example of such a grant is recorded in copper-plates dated v.s. 290 (i.e., A.D. 609). The grant was made to Brahmanas Mitraśarman and Gameśvara, sons of Rūdraśarman. These donees originally belonged to a village of Daśapura (Mandsor in Mālavā) but were living at Valabhī at the time when they received the grant.

[2] Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 131; Bühler, *I. A.*, IX, pp. 237-239.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Banerji, " The Bhadrēṇiyaka Grant of Śilāditya I, G. E. 292," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 117.

[5] Buddha, dharma and saṅgha.

[6] This Vihāra may be the ancient Vihāra of Talāja as identified by Shah in *Purattatva*, I, p. 99 (30 miles from Bhāvanagar).

[7] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 261.

[8] *Ibid.*

in the policy of Śīlāditya whose equal treatment of his subjects, irrespective of the religious differences among them, justified the title assumed on his accession, viz., that of *Dharmāditya*.

In his introduction to the *Śatruñjaya Mahātmya*, Dhaneśvara narrates that he tried to induce Śīlāditya to expel the Buddhists from Valabhī, and establish a number of chaityas near the Tirthas. To a liberal-minded man like him, such a thing could have appealed only in the event of the safety and peace of his kingdom being endangered by the set of people marked out for such treatment. It is possible that Dhaneśvara Sūri pointed out some Buddhist individuals in the kingdom working against the interest of Śīlāditya and favouring Harṣa. And accordingly, the statement of the *Śatruñjaya Mahātmya* is true only to the extent that Śīlāditya, who had fallen out with Harṣa, might have been compelled by this circumstance to take steps against some Buddhists suspected of disloyalty and expelled them from the country. This event was exaggerated by the Jainas, as expulsion of the Buddhists as a community. Furthermore, had Śīlāditya really persecuted the Buddhists, as this Jaina would have us believe, Hiuen Tsiang would not have praised him as a zealous adherent of the religion of Śākyasiṁha. The fact of the matter, therefore, seems to have been that Śīlāditya was constrained to take precautionary measures so as to forestall any manifestation of sympathy for Harṣa on the part of his Buddhist subjects on the score of their common religion. It may be noted in passing that under similar circumstances Śaśāṅka, as we are informed by the Chinese pilgrim, let loose a sanguinary persecution against the Buddhists throughout his empire.[1]

Usually in the Valabhī grants the *dūtaka* is the heir-apparent, and it was only during the minority period of the heir-apparent that other dūtakas were appointed. Now it is seen that in the first six grants of Śīlāditya I, the *dūtaka* was Bhaṭṭā-Ādityayaśas.[2] But the *dūtaka* in the grants of v.s. 290 onwards is Śrī-Kharagraha, who actually succeeded his elder brother Śīlāditya I.[3]

The genealogy of the Maitrakas, however, makes it clear that Śīlāditya did have a son, Derabhaṭṭa, a prince of undoubted abilities.[4] What made Śīlāditya declare Kharagraha as his successor cannot be said definitely. The

1 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115.

2 Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 51-56.

3 *Ibid.*, Nos. 57 and 60.

4 There is a legend current among the people at Goghā to the effect that a Valabhi prince was expelled from the kingdom because he was in love with some fisher-girl. The prince, we are told, thereupon went southwards in the course of his wanderings, and having obtained victory over the king of Laṅka, he settled there with the fisher-girl as his queen. We do not know whether the story has any reference to Derabhaṭṭa. However, it is possible to suppose that the exile of Derabhaṭṭa, if he had been exiled at all, may have lingered in popular memory and was embellished with a touch of romance by some fertile mind in a later age; App. D.

inscriptions merely say that Śilāditya "excessively full of respect (for him) [Kharagraha] (behaved) as if he were (the god Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra."[1] Now this allusion to the contest between Upendra, i.e., Viṣṇu and Indra, concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, would seem to suggest that there was some dispute regarding the succession to the Valabhī throne between the two brothers, and that in the end Kharagraha, like Upendra, had the point in dispute conceded to him,[2] evidently during the last years of Śīlāditya's reign when Kharagraha appears as *dūtaka* in the former's grants. That there was some trouble about the succession at this time and that Derabhaṭṭa was forcibly excluded therefrom is also apparent from the Maitraka grants of three succeeding generations of rulers, which pass Derabhaṭṭa in silence, and from the fact that he comes to be mentioned only when the succession was restored to his house in the person of his son Dhruvasena III.[3]

In the records that speak of him Derabhaṭṭa is compared to Saint Agastya. He is also spoken of as the master of countries lying between the Sahya (the Western Ghāts)[4] and the Vindhyas.[5] It is probably under his military leadership that some more land in this part of the country was conquered. Now that we know that Derabhaṭṭa did not succeed his father on the Valabhī throne, the conquest of this territory must have been effected in Śīlāditya's time. Only a few years before this, as we saw above, the struggle had been going on here between the chief Nirihullaka and his overlords the Kaḷachuris on the one hand and the Gurjaras backed by the Chālukyas on the other. But we know from the Vaḍner plates dated A.D. 609 (19th August) that the Kaḷachuri king Buddharāja granted some plot of land in the Vatanagarabhoga (Cāndvaḍ tāluka, Nāsik district), a circumstance which proves that at this date the Kaḷachuri power extended as far as that region.[6] This extension may have taken place during the civil war between Maṅgaleśa and Pulikeśin when in the words of the Aihole inscription "the whole world was enveloped by the darkness of enemies."[7] But fortunately for the Chālukyas, Buddharāja had also to fight with enemies in the north; and as we have already noted, the

[1] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

[2] Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V, 30; Hall's edition of Wilson's translation V, p. 97.

[3] It is not likely, though not impossible, that Derabhaṭṭa should have lived to succeed Dharasena IV, the grandson of his uncle Kharagraha I. Further, we see that in the Valabhī grants the names of those who succeeded to the throne are given in nominative case. But the names of Derabhaṭṭa and of his son prince Śīlāditya are given in the genetive case; and they are not styled parameśvaras. This is a further proof that they were not anointed as rulers.

[4] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 474; Dey, *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India*, p. 171.

[5] This is seen from all the copper-plate records issued from the time of Dhruvasena III onwards.

[6] Gupte, *op. et loc. cit.*

[7] Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VIII, p. 242; Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II," *E. I.*, p. 1 ff.

advancing power of the Kalachuris foundered on the rock of opposition of these northern neighbours somewhere in A.D. 610.[1] Nirihullaka or his successor Appayika[2] may have then made himself independent; and it was thus that as the Aihole record remarks, when Pulikeśin emerged victorious from the civil war, he found himself confronted by Appayika. Now since the Chālukya power had been weakened by the civil war,[3] Pulikēśin doubtless found it difficult to deal with the enemy single-handed. He may, therefore, have requisitioned help from his neighbour the Maitraka king Śīlāditya. The latter in his turn may have sent his son Derabhaṭṭa against Appayika. The expedition was successful; the dynasty of Nirihullaka was extinguished, and the land which they claimed as their principality was partitioned between the allies. While the territory, the possession of which had been contested by the Chālukyas and the Kalachuris, viz., Southern Gujarāt and North Koṅkaṇ, went to the former, the tract between the conjunction of the Sahya and the Vindhya ranges was retained by the Maitrakas. It is highly probable that this territory was made over to the charge of Derabhaṭṭa, who had led this campaign to a successful conclusion—a fact which justifies his description as the lord of the earth which has (the mountains) Sahya and the Vindhya for (its) lovely breasts, the nipples of which, are (their) summits that are made of a dark blue colour by the clouds (resting upon them)."[4] Over this territory, it is possible, Derabhaṭṭa ruled with independent rather than dependent authority and was, after his death, succeeded by his son Śīlāditya. Of him the inscriptions say that he was the lord of the earth, the bulky breasts of which are the Vindhya mountains." These were perhaps the terms of the compromise between the two brothers, Sīlāditya and Kharagraha.

In one of the Maitraka copper-plates a queen by name Jañjikā is referred to.[5] She was probably Śīlāditya's wife. This is the only instance in the Valabhī records where a queen is mentioned. Her name was mentioned here to show the location of a piece of land which was granted to a Brāhmaṇa, and it was situated to the south-east of Kālāsamka—a village which was in her possession.

In the copper-plates Śīlāditya has curtailed the genealogical list by dropping the names of the four sons of Senāpati Bhaṭārka, the founder of

1 Kielhorn, "Sarsavāmı plate of the Kalachuri king Buddharāja," *E. I.*, VI, p. 297 ff. This is the last known record of the dynasty.

2 That Appayika was a descendant of Nirihullaka is suggested by Prof. Moraes in his "Notes on the Pre-Kadamba History of Goa," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Fifth Session, 1941, p. 168.

3 The fact that the Chālukyan power had been weakened by the civil war is clear from Pulikēśin's title in the sixth year of his reign when he calls himself "Mahārāja, glorious Satyasraya" only. Cf. Fleet, "Yekkeri Rock Inscription of the time of Pulikeśin II," *E. I.*, V, p. 8.

4 Fleet, "Aliṇa Copper-plates Inscription of Śilāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 184.

5 Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 55; Diskalkar, "Valabhi Plates," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, p. 28.

the dynasty. The practice was followed by the later kings of the dynasty, who instead of further curtailments, used larger plates and wrote the details of their records in small letters.

A clay seal bearing the legend " Śrī Śīlāditya " was found in the ruins of Valabhī. In the absence of more details or the date of the seal, the question as to which of the seven Śīlādityas of this dynasty this seal belonged, remains unsolved.[1] The Mahāyānic work *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* gives a detailed account of king Śīlāditya's character. It records that " in the country of Lāḍas (extending from Ujjain to the western coast), there will be a king Śīla, a Buddhist. At Valabhī, he will be a dharma-rāja. He will make attractive (artistic, ' cistrān ') monasteries with relics for public good, and beautiful Buddha images, and various worships."[2] Thus Hiuen Tsiang's eulogy for his devotion to Buddhism is well corroborated by this Buddhist work of the eighth century. Then again the Valabhī records give the most eloquent expression to the eulogy of his noble character, specially when he is described " to have attained great glory by making clear the path of the kings of the Kṛta Yuga, which was blocked up since long." In other words, the perfectly righteous rule of this noble king reminded his people of the glorious reigns of ancient kings like Rāma and others. The people felt as if the golden age was revived after a long interval of several centuries. It is said that " he had purified his enjoyment of wealth, felicity and prosperity by the unfailing adherence to virtue and thus confirmed his second title ' Dharmāditya '." The early Guptas, it is well known, were very fond of assuming such second names ending in *Āditya*, e.g., Chandragupta II was known as Vikramāditya, Kumaragupta I as Mahendrāditya, Skandagupta as Kramāditya, Narsihagupta as Bālāditya, etc. Among the Maitraka kings Śīlāditya was the first to set this fashion of assuming such second names in imitation of the early Gupta sovereigns. Though the Gupta kings styled themselves with the title " the sun of powers," showing thereby their desire for power, Śīlāditya took pride in calling himself by a title which definitely praised ' virtue ' (Śīla) more than power.

1 *Annual Report of the Archæological Department*, Baroda State, 1937-38, p. 16.

2 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24 (Sloka 586-601).

CHAPTER X

KHARAGRAHA I

(A.D. 615-621)

Kharagraha the next king, also called Īśvaragraha,[1] seems to have continued the hostilities against Harṣa, started in his brother's lifetime. It was probably in the course of this war that he issued a grant to a Brāhmaṇa from his victorious camp at Ujjain.[2] He seems to have been successful on the whole. In the stereotyped account of his achievements, written by his order and later accepted as official, he is described as one " who was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of hundreds of kings subdued by (his) wealth of might," and again " by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy other than obeisance alone, could be successfully employed."[3] It is possible that Harṣa, whilst directing his major strength against Śaśāṅka, may have sent a few troops against Kharagraha as well. This probably accounts for the fact that the latter made Ujjain his " victorious camp," i.e., his base of operations. But the Maitraka power was too firmly entrenched in Mālavā to allow itself to be ousted by the feeble efforts of Harṣa. Moreover, the latter was at this time involved in a life and death struggle with his rival of Gauḍa. Consequently, Mālavā was left in the possession of the Maitrakas till about the middle of the seventh century,[4] when Harṣa was free to deal with the western powers.

Like his ancestors, Kharagraha was a Śaivite, and is described as a " great devotee of Maheśvara." He was noble-hearted, we are told, and " was not tainted by any of the faults that assert an ascendancy over inferior people."[5] As to his personal accomplishments, we are informed that he was skilled in the use of missiles.

Kharagraha's reign was short. This is known from the fact that the last known grant of his predecessor was issued in V.S. 292 (i.e., A.D. 611) and the only known inscription of his son and successor Dharasena III bears the date V.S. 304 (i.e., A.D. 623).

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1 Bhandarkar, " A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 17.

2 Gadre, " The Virdi Copper-plates of Saṁvat 297," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference*, p. 659 ff.

3 *Ibid.*, Fleet, " Aliṇā Copper-plate Inscription of Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 182; Gadre, " The Amreli Plates of Kharagraha I," *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, I, p. 7 ff.

4 Two of the Valabhī grants V.S. 320 (i.e., A.D. 639) and V.S. 321 (i.e., A.D. 640) were discovered at Nogāva, ten miles north of Ratlām. These grants are issued in Nawagrāma (modern Nogāwa) and Chandraputraka respectively in Mālavaka (modern Mālavā). Cf. Hultzsch, " Nogava Plates of Dhruvasena II," *E. I.*, VIII, pp. 188 and 194 respectively.

5 Fleet, " Aliṇā Copper-plate Inscription of Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 182.

In his grants Kharagraha I departed from the practice followed hitherto of mentioning officers by their designations.[1] They were thenceforth mentioned in a general way—a practice which seems to have come into common usage in western India during this period.[2] Nevertheless, two officers continued to be mentioned: the *Dūtaka* or 'executor', who in the Virdi and Amreli grants was Śrī Dharasena who succeeded him to the throne and the minister of peace and war (Sandhivigrahika) who in the same records was one Vatra Bhaṭṭi. The latter, it may incidentally be observed, appears in this capacity from v.s. 286 to v.s. 310. From the Valabhī copper-plate records it is clear that Kharagraha had two sons named Dharasena and Dhruvasena who succeeded to the throne in succession.

[1] Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] It is interesting to observe that all the Chālukya inscriptions (copper-plates) conform to this style from the time of Pulikeśin II onwards.

CHAPTER XI

DHARASENA III

(A.D. 621-627)

Dharasena III succeeded his father, Kharagraha I. He seems to have ruled for about six years only, from about c. A.D. 621 to 627.[1]

From the only inscription of his, dated V.S. 304[2] (i.e., c. A.D. 623) that is known to us, it may be gathered that he was a learned man of liberal views. He was a devotee of Maheśvara like most of the Valabhī kings. Himself learned in the sciences of his age, he greatly encouraged learning, and raised the cultural level of his kingdom.[3]

This inscription was issued from the military camp at Kheṭaka. This is indeed an important circumstance in that it shows that Dharasena III came into hostile contact with some power during this period. Again, it is significant that in this record Dharasena is accorded only the epithet of *parama-māheśvara*, from which it may be inferred that he was not a powerful ruler. In fact the period of his rule coincides with the great military activities of Pulikeśin II in the south and Harṣavardhana in the north. But in order to determine as to which of the two paramount sovereigns was responsible for the diminution of Dharasena's power, we have to go into the history of the two powers of this time. As for Harṣavardhana, it has been observed by Hiuen Tsiang that "he went from east to west subduing all who were not obedient . . . and after thirty years his arms reposed and he governed everywhere in peace."[4] Did Harṣa then come into conflict with the Maitrakas, in the course of his

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1 The only known date of Kharagraha I is V.S. 297 and the first known date of Dharasena's successor Dhruvasena II is V.S. 310. From this it is clear that he did not rule for a long period. However, if the account given by the *A. M. M. K.* is correct, then only eleven months and a fortnight's reign can be ascribed to him.

2 Diskalkar, "The Bhāvanagar copper-plates dated 304," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 181 ff. and *Watson Museum Report*, 1925-26, p. 14. The Gopnāth plate is also taken to be of this king but the date of this plate is not known, as the second part of the plate is lost (cf. *I. A.*, XII, p. 148).

3 Fleet, "The Aliṇā Copper-plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 182.

4 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 213. We prefer the reading of this passage as given by Beal to that of Watters for the reason that the latter's reading is obviously corrupt. As has been rightly observed by Tripathi, a victory over "Five Indias" including sovereignty over the Gauḍa and Orissa could not have been achieved in the course of five years only. The Ganjam plates dated c. A.D. 619 show that at least till that date Śaśāṅka was a powerful ruler in that country. As for Pulikeśin II who succeeded in about A.D. 609-610, it would be difficult to imagine that he could have defeated Harṣa within three years of his accession, having regard to the exhausted condition of Chālukyan empire after the civil war (cf. Tripathi, "A Note on Remark of Yuan Chwang," *I. H. Q.*, VIII, p. 114). Nor could Harṣa think of venturing out so far to the Vindhyas within a year or two of his accession, leaving behind a powerful enemy like Śaśāṅka to wreak havoc in his train. App. C.

campaigns? This possibility has to be ruled out for the simple reason that he had not as yet finished with Śaśāṅka, and it is but reasonable to suppose that every ounce of his energy must have been devoted to the task of destroying him and avenging his brother's death. But as is obvious from Hiuen Tsiang's account, Harṣa could hardly make any headway against his adversary, who, far from being crushed, could not even be dislodged from the part of Magadha in his occupation.[1] And it is almost certain that so long as he lived Harṣa was kept so fully occupied that he could think of no further campaigns elsewhere. But Śaśāṅka must have died only a few years before Hiuen Tsiang's visit. In referring to Śaśāṅka as the late king, the pilgrim seems to allude to this event as having happened not long time before. Moreover, the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* gives Śaśāṅka a reign of seventeen years[2]—which if taken to have commenced in c. A.D. 610[3] would make c. A.D. 627 his closing year. Furthermore, we know from inscriptional evidence that the Harṣa-Maitraka conflict took place in the time of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II, who is said to have given shelter to a Maitraka ruler fleeing before Harṣa.[4] Now the reign of this Daḍḍa is known to have begun in about A.D. 629 or a little earlier. It is evident, therefore, that the war of Harṣa with the Maitrakas could not have occurred before this date.

On the other hand, during this period the Chālukyas under their able sovereign Pulikeśin II were waxing more and more powerful. The slow and steady rise of Pulikeśin is well described in his Aihole *praśasti*[5] apparently in chronological sequence.

According to this epigraph, " when having found the opportunity, he who was named Āppāyika, and Govinda, approached with their troops of elephants to conquer the country north of the Bhaimarathī, the one in battle through his armies came to know the taste of fear, while the other at once received the reward of the services rendered by him.

" When he was besieging Vanavāsī, which for a girdle has the rows of *haṁsa* birds that sport on the high waves of the Varadā as their play-place, and which by its wealth rivalled the city of the gods, that fortress on land, having the surface of the earth all round covered with the great sea of his army, to the looker-on seemed at once converted into a fortress in the water.

" Although in former days they had acquired happiness by renouncing the seven sins, the Gaṅga and Āḷupa lords, being subdued by His dignity, were always intoxicated by drinking the nectar of close attendance upon him.

[1] Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115; cf. Majumdar, *The History of Bengal*, I, p. 65.

[2] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 50 (Sloka 732).

[3] As already pointed out in the last chapter, Saśāṅka must have disposed of Rājyavardhana somewhere about that period.

[4] Bhagwanlal Indraji, " Navasari Copper-plate grants of Jayabhaṭṭa II," *I. A.*, XIII, p. 70; Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*," II, p. 40, No. 117, line 4.

[5] Kielhorn, " Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II, Śaka Saṁvat 556," *E. I.*, VI, pp. 9-10.

"In the koṅkaṇas the impetuous waves of the forces directed by Him speedily swept away the rising wavelets of pools—the Mauryas.

"When, radiant like the destroyer of Pura, he besieged Purī, the Fortune of the western sea, with hundreds of ships in appearance like arrays of rutting elephants, the sky, dark-blue as a young lotus and covered with tiers of massive clouds, resembled the sea, and the sea was like the sky."

"Subdued by His splendour, the Lāṭas, Māḷavās and Gūrjaras[1] became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force, ought to behave."[2]

It will be seen from this passage that having averted by diplomacy and by force of arms, the danger that threatened him on his northern frontiers[3] from the invasion of the two chiefs Āppayika and Govinda, Pulikeśin II reduced, during the first series of his campaigns, the Kadambas of Banavāsi who had reasserted their power during the civil war. He then won the allegience of the Gaṅgas and the Ālupas who had been subdued in the time of his father Kīrtivarman I. This may have brought him to the part of the west coast now known as South Kanara which was then ruled by the Ālupas from their capital at Udyavar. Then proceeding northwards along the coasts he exterminated the Mauryas who are usually associated with Purī—a city—which is variously identified with Chandrapur or Chandor in the present Goa territory, and with Ghārāpurī or the Elephanta Island across the Bombay harbour. From there he entered the present Gujarāt and Mālavā which brought him into conflict with the two powers between whom the sovereignty of this part of India was then divided, viz., the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas. It was probably this occasion which brought the Maitraka ruler to the southernmost part of his kingdom. As is evident from the afore-mentioned record which speaks of the victorious camp of Kheṭaka, he seems to have made this place his base of operations. But he was so overwhelmed by the majesty and power of Pulikeśin that he and the Gurjara chief made their submission to him of their

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[1] Another king of Gujarat who is said to have been defeated by Pulikeśin during the course of this campaign was king Vyāgramukha of the Chāpoṭaka family who ruled in about A.D. 634 (cf. De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 140). The writer however does not give the authority for this statement. But we find that in A.D. 628 the astronomer Bhahmagupta wrote his Siddhānta at Bhinmāl under king Vyāghramukha, who he states belonged to the Śrī Chāpa dynasty. From this reference Bhagvanlal Indraji has suggested that this Vyāgramukha was probably of the Gurjara line, and may have heen the same king who was defeated by Pulikeśin in A.D. 634. This is not true because, as we have already seen, the Gurjara king whom Pulikeśin had subdued was the Gurjara king of Broach, most probably Jayabhaṭṭa I.

[2] Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II, Śaka Saṁvat 556," *E. I.*, VI, pp. 9-10.

[3] Govinda, according to Dr. Bhandarkar, was a Rāṣṭrakūta chief, and Āppayika may perhaps be taken to be a successor of Nirihullaka on phonetic resemblance as suggested by Prof. Moraes (cf. Moraes, "Pre-Kadamba History of Goa," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, V Session, p. 168).

own accord.[1] And thereafter they "behaved (themselves) so humbly and obediently as by their conduct to set an example to others whom he had subjected by force." As the Aihole inscription puts it. "subdued by His splendour the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras became as it were teachers of how feudatories, subdued by force ought to behave."[2] Since the inscription of Dharasena is dated v.s. 304 (c. A.D. 623) this event may be said to have taken place about this time. Thereafter for a considerable time the Maitrakas continued to acknowledge the Chālukyan overlordship and their feudatory status is attested by the fact that the old title of Mahārāja was not revived in the Maitraka house during the reign of Dhruvasena II, the successor of the present monarch. And indeed, how could they bear this title when their liege-lord Pulikeśin remained contented with the same *birudā* ?

A corroboration of the events related in the Aihole *praśasti* is perhaps found in the Kaira grant of Vijayarāja which discloses the existence at this time of a feudatory branch of the Chālukya family in Gujarāt.[3] The genealogy in this record commences with a Chālukya prince named Jayasiṁharāja. His son was Rāja-Buddhavarman, to whom are accorded the epithet of Vallabha and the *birudā* of 'Raṇavikrānta', while the donor of the grant which was issued on the 9th of April A.D. 643 was the son of the latter. It is possible that after the successful campaign through Gujarāt and Mālavā Pulikeśin II appointed Jayasiṁha, or his son Buddhavarman, as his viceroy. It is significant that the grant was found at Kaira, the ancient Kheṭaka, from where, it will be remembered, the grant of Dharasena III had also been issued.

The prosperity of the country during Dharasena's rule is attested by the fact that a temple dedicated to the goddess Śaṅkarikā (i.e., Bhavanī) was built by the villagers at their own expense.[4]

The *dūtaka* of Dharasena III's inscription was the prince sāmanta Śīlāditya, and the writer was Vatrabhaṭṭi who was the chief secretary and the minister of peace and war in this reign.

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1 De La Vallee Poussin, *Dynasties et Histoire De L'Inde Dupuis Kanishka Jusque Aux Invasions Musulmanes*, p. 140; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 267; Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 359; Bühler, "A New Grant of Daḍḍa II," *I. A.*, XVII, p. 197; Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VII, p. 241 ff., IX, p. 123 ff.

2 Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 10, line 22. It will be noticed that the countries comprised in the dominions of the Maitrakas and the Gurjaras are separately mentioned in the record; the reason for this seems to be that, though at this time they had come under the rule of these two powers, the Lāṭas and the Mālavas were famous people when they were in enjoyment of independent existence. The separate mention of these peoples would besides serve the aims of a *praśasti* which is to extoll the achievements of the subject thereof.

3 Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VII, p. 241 ff.; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 102; Valle Poussin, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 Diskalkar, *op. et loc. cit.*

The *Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa* mentions one 'Chapala' as the successor of Śīlāditya. This 'Chapala' is identified by Jayaswal with Kharagraha[1] and the details in the account of Chapala's character are applied to Kharagraha, the younger brother of Śīlāditya who succeeded him to the Valabhī throne. We, however, propose to identify Chapala not with Kharagraha but with Dharasena II, the successor of the latter. The *A.M.M.K.* describing the succession says: "After the passing away of Śīla, there will be Chapala. He will rule for eleven months and a half. Then he will be killed by some soldiers in consequence of his lust for women and go to hell," and further, "next will come his younger brother Dhruva by name."[2] The passage, just referred to, however, involves the omission of one king between Śīla (Śīlāditya I) and Dhruva (Dhruvasena II).[3] For in fact, two kings, viz., Kharagraha I and Dharasena III actually intervened, while the *A.M.M.K.* gives an account of only one, viz., Chapala. It is, therefore, certain that one of these two intervening kings is omitted here, and hence the name occurring in the passage may be applied to either of the two, i.e., it may as well apply to Dharasena III as to Kharagraha I. It must be admitted nonetheless, that the word 'Chapala' hardly bears any affinity to either of the names 'Khara' or 'Dhara'. If, however, Chapala is at all to be identified with either, it should rather be with Dharasena III than with Kharagraha I. In the first place the work does not make it clear that Chapala was the immediate successor of Śīla. What it says is simply that after Śīla there will be one Chapala. Secondly, 'Dhruva' is represented as *anuja* of Chapala (i.e., younger brother). According to this relationship, Chapala has to be definitely identified with Dharasena III, the elder brother of Dhruvasena II, unless we agree with Jayaswal's far-fetched interpretation of the word *anuja* as a younger cadet (and not younger brother).[4] Then again in moral character Kharagraha I is represented in the Valabhī records as far superior to Dharasena III, who was more a man of learning than a man of character. It is rather strange that a king who is

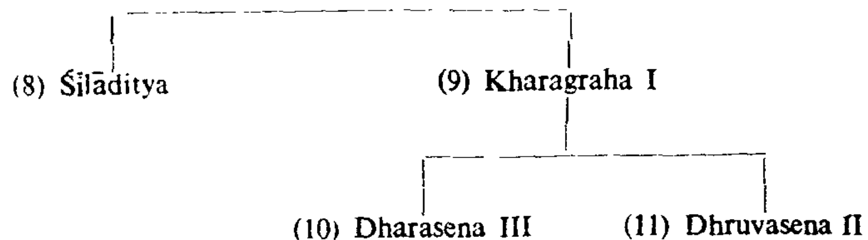
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[1] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] शीलख्ये नृपतौ वृत्ते चपलस्तत्रभविष्यति । वर्षार्धपक्षमेकं तु पञ्चमासां तथैव तु ।
राज्यंकृत्वा विभिन्नोऽसौ शस्त्रिभिः ॥६०२॥ स्त्रीकृतेनैव दोषेण शस्त्रभिन्नो ह्यधोगतः ।

Dr. Jayaswal has translated the first half of the line and given six and a half months' reign to Chapala which appears to be a mistake. It should be eleven and a half months.

[3] Cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 171 ff. According to the genealogy given in the Valabhī grants:

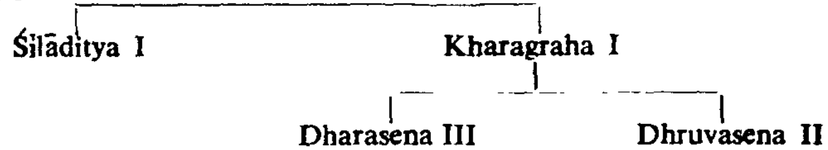


[4] Jayaswal, *op. et loc. cit.*

said to have "forcibly destroyed all the specious procedure of (this wicked) Kali age"[1] should have met his death at the hands of soldiers in consequence of his lust for women. Hence the identity of the 'Chapala' of the *A.M.M.K.* with Dharasena III would be more correct than with Kharagraha I, as Dr. Jayaswal has suggested.[2]

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1 Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 182.



2 Jayaswal, *op. et loc. cit.*

CHAPTER XII

DHRUVASENA II, BALADITYA

(A.D. 627-641)

On the death of Dharasena III his younger brother Dhruvasena II ascended the throne of Valabhī. He was well known as Bālāditya, the 'rising Sun',[1] because of the great affection which he bore towards his subjects, an affection which they gladly reciprocated.[2]

In all about seven copper-plate grants of this king are known, the earliest being dated v.s. 310[3] (i.e., c. A.D. 629), and the last is v.s. 321[4] (i.e., c. A.D. 640). All his records attribute to him proficiency in arts generally, and mastery of the celebrated grammar of Pāṇini (also known as Śālāturīya),[5] and of the science of polity. He is compared to Manu, because like him he was resorted to by his subjects for his sterling merits.[6] He was a loyal friend; but this did not deter him from giving up those who were found guilty of moral turpitude. This description is similar to that of Dilīpa[7] given by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa, where king Dilīpa is said to have severed his connection with even a dear person if he found him to be wicked, as one cuts off a snake-bitten finger. But according to Hiuen Tsiang, who visited Valabhī at this time,[8] he was of "a lively and hasty disposition and his wisdom and statecraft were shallow." Hiuen Tsiang further states that "quite recently he had attached himself sincerely to faith in the three precious ones," viz., the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha.[9] His esteem for Buddhism is evident from the grants he made to the Buddhist Vihāras. In v.s. 310 (i.e., c. A.D. 629) he made a donation to a monastery built by Gohaka, which was itself a part of the celebrated Duḍḍā Vihāra, viz., the Vihāra founded by the Maitraka princess Duḍḍā at Valabhī. Nine years later, in the year v.s. 319[10] (i.e., c. A.D. 638) he donated certain villages for the Bhikkhuṇṇis residing in the Vihāra built by one Puṇṇabhaṭa at Valabhī, near Yakṣaśūra Vihāra. But this should not be understood to mean

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[1] His famous second name of Bālāditya was appropriate to his charactor, meaning as it did, that the (*whole*) world was pervaded by the affection of mankind that was produced by (*his*) rising.

[2] Bhandarkar, "A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 16.

[3] Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 63.

[4] *Ibid.* No. 69; Hultzsch, "The Nogāva Plates," *E. I.*, VIII, p. 192 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid*, Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

[7] *Raghuvaṁsa*, Canto I, verse 28.

[8] Fleet has rightly suggested that Hiuen Tsiang visited Valabhī in Dhruvasena II's reign and not in Śīlāditya VII's reign as suggested by others. Cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 40 (Introduction). The name of the ruling king as given by Hiuen Tsiang is Dhruvapaṭu (Tu-lo-po-po-tu) or Dhruvabhaṭṭa (Tulopopota) who is identified with Dhruvasena II. Cf. Burgess, *A. S. W. I.*, XI, p. 82.

[9] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267.

[10] Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 66.

that he converted himself to the faith of the Buddha, for in all his inscriptions he styles himself *paramamāheśvara*. The fact seems to have been that, like his ancestors, Dhruvasena also was of a tolerant disposition, and viewed all religions with equal favour. Accordingly, we find him making donations to Buddhists no less than to Hindu institutions. In V.S. 320 (i.e., c. A.D. 639) he renewed a grant to the Hindu temple of Koṭṭammhikādevī made by his ancestor Mahārāja Droṇasiṁha, which appears to have become null in the interim. This might either refer to the grant of Droṇasiṁha, made in the year V.S. 183 (i.e., c. A.D. 502) where, however, the name of the goddess is Pāṇḍurāja, or it might refer to some other gift which is not known to us. Similarly, there are grants which he made to individual Brāhmanas. In V.S. 320 and V.S. 321 (i.e., c. A.D. 639-640) he made over to them some villages in Mālavā.

In referring to the achievements of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II the Gurjara records of a later date aver that he gave protection to " the lord of Valabhī, who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva."[1] The inscription, however, does not make it clear who this Valabhī king was. Daḍḍa, it may be concluded from his inscriptions which are spread over the period from A.D. 629-641, ruled from A.D. 629,[2] and was thus a contemporary of the two Maitraka rulers Dhruvasena II and Dharasena IV. Was it the former or the latter that was helped by the Gurjara monarch? Unfortunately no original authority clears this point. The question is further complicated by the information of Hiuen Tsiang that Dhruvasena II, the nephew of Śīlāditya, was also the son-in-law of Harṣa.[3] The clash of arms, however, between the Maitrakas and the Vardhanas is easily explained. So long as Śaśāṅka lived he could not think of retrieving the province of Mālavā which ought to have gone to the Vardhanas as a result of the victory of Rājyavardhana over Devagupta, but of which they had been baulked by the interference of the

1 Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Daḍḍa I.
Jayabhaṭa I Vitarāga.
Daḍḍa II Prasantarāja c. A.D. 628-650 (K. 380, 385, 391).
Jayabhaṭṭa II c. A.D. 650-670.
Daḍḍa III c. A.D. 670-690 (K. 456).
Jayabhaṭṭa III c. 690-710 (K. 456).
Ahirola c. A.D. 710-730.
Jayabhaṭṭa IV c. A.D. 730-750 (K. 486).

Three plates of Daḍḍa II dated Śaka 400, 415 and 417 have been left out of consideration, because they have been accepted as spurious. This genealogical table is according to Mirashi, " A Note on the Prince of Wales Plates of Jayabhaṭṭa (III?)," *E. I.*, XXIV, p. 178 ff. and it appears to be more accurate, Appendix F.

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267. Beal's translation of this passage as " son-in-law of the son of Śīlāditya . . . etc.," is obviously wrong. It is well known that Harṣa had no male issue. Watters' translation, therefore, is preferable, and is followed here. It may also be noted that M. Julien (Vol. I, p. 206), in his French translation of Hiuen Tsiang, agrees with Watters' translation of this passage.

Maitrakas.[1] As has been seen in the last chapter, the death of Śaśāṅka in or about A.D. 627 was followed by a period of confusion. As the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa says: "After the death of Sōma (Śaśāṅka) the Gauḍa political system (Gauḍatantra) was reduced to mutual distrust, raised weapons (*sic*) and mutual jealousy—one (king) for a week; another for a month; . . ."[2] Thus freed from the fear of attack from the eastern frontier, Harṣa must have thought of attempting to wrest Mālavā from the Valabhī king. The attack on the Valabhī kingdom must have occurred about A.D. 632,[3] a view which seems to be confirmed by the gap in *Dhruvasena's* records from 313 to 319 (i.e., A.D. 632-638), a period which is probably filled with the counter-offensive of Dhruvasena. For it will be noticed that the records are fairly constant before A.D. 632 and after A.D. 638.[4]

At the time we are speaking of, Harṣa's empire seems to have embraced the whole Gangetic valley from Thāṇeśvara to Magadha.[5] It is no wonder then that when the resources of the vast empire were directed against him the Maitraka sovereign was all but crushed, and in a short time obliged to flee to the court of his Gurjara neighbour Daḍḍa II.[6] In this campaign Harṣa followed the same course as that pursued by his famous Maukhari predecessor Īśvaravarman against a former Maitraka king Guhasena.[7] Presumably the Kānykubja legions at first entered Mālavā, and swept across this ancient kingdom as far as the gates of Valabhī.

Why did Dhruvasena seek refuge at the court of Daḍḍa II? Broach after all was a small power, nothing in fact as compared to Valabhī, and therefore admittedly not in a position to resist effectively "the lord of Northern India." This point, so important for an understanding of the alignment of the powers of the time, was entirely ignored by earlier writers, though they realised the absurdity of such a claim. Writing in 1888, Bühler in his sketch of the Gurjara history sought to explain away the contradiction with the following explanation: "He (Harṣa) directed his attack, as a matter of course, against Valabhī, the largest and the most powerful state in Gujarāt, and defeated its ruler Dhruvasena II. Dhruvasena fled after his defeat to Broach and was sheltered

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1 While admitting that the war between Harṣa and the Maitraka king was due to the addition of Mālavā to the kingdom of the latter, Dr. Śaṅkalia asserts that the kingdom was annexed by Dhruvasena II. The latter statement is not correct, as has already been proved in the chapter on Śīlāditya I. The Virdi plates of Kharagraha I dated A.D. 616 were actually issued from Ujjain.

2 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

3 The inscription of V.S. 313 is dated in the month of Śrāvaṇa. Since the campaigns were generally undertaken after the Dasarā festival (after the rainy season) in the month of Āśvin, the invasion of Harṣa must have taken place two months after this grant was made.

4 See Appendices B, F.

5 Mazumdar, "The Extent of Harṣa's Empire," *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 229.

6 Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 Fleet, "Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Īśvaravarman," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 229.

by Daḍḍa IV. From his place of refuge he made his peace with and his submission to his great foe, and was restored to his throne as a feudatory of the latter. The peace was cemented, as has happened in many similar cases, by a marriage of Dhruvasena with Śrī Harṣa's grand-daughter (daughter). With this supposition, the magnitude of Daḍḍa's feat is somewhat reduced, but it loses the appearance of absurdity which it has at first sight."[1] Ettinghausen, in his *Harṣavardhana*, closely followed Bühler's explanation, but was apparently not satisfied as to "why the king of Broach, in welcoming Dhruvasena II, could think of resisting Harsa." He, therefore, ventured to suggest that Broach probably "called on Pulikeśin II, the Chālukya king of Mahārāṣṭra and emperor of the south," who wished to contest with Harṣa the title to Indian paramountcy.[2] But it was not clear to this scholar, writing in the early days of Indian historical research, the reason why Pulikeśin II at all allowed himself to be drawn into this conflict. Even Dr. Altekar, in his attempt to solve this puzzle, only suggests that the cause of conflict between the two powers must have arisen on account of their clashing imperialistic ambitions in Gujarāt and Mālavā.[3] From the foregoing account of the relations of the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas on the one hand and Pulikeśin II on the other, it is now evident that when Harṣa invaded the dominions of Valabhī and was on the point of overrunning Broach as well, Pulikeśin, as the overlord of these two powers, could not but come to their rescue. It is thus clear that in fleeing to the court of Daḍḍa, Dhruvasena was taking the only course that was open to him, a very simple fact which in the course of seven decades was magnified into seeking an asylum at the Gurjara court.

The course of this war is nowhere described in the extant documents. While Hiuen Tsiang merely observes that among the countries invaded by Harṣa Mo-ha-la-ch'a (Mahārāṣṭra) alone "refused to become subject to him"[4]; the Aihole *praśasti* celebrates the ultimate victory of Pulikeśin II in a verse which has since become memorable: "Harṣa, whose lotus-feet were arrayed with the rays of the jewels of the diadems of hosts of feudatories prosperous with unmeasured might, through Him had his mirth (Harṣa) melted away by fear, having become loathsome with his rows of lordly elephants fallen in battle."[5] It may be concluded from this that the result of this war was disappointing to Harṣa, and does not justify Dr. Mookerji's[6] conclusion that his campaign in western India seems to have resulted in the submission

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1 Bühler, "A New Grant of Daḍḍa II," *I. A.*, XVII, p. 196.

2 Ettinghausen, *Harṣavardhana*, p. 40.

3 Altekar distinguishes between the king of Valabhī and the ruler of Mālavā (cf. *op. et loc. cit.*). This is obviously a mistake. It need not be repeated that Mālavā at this time formed a part of the Valabhī kingdom.

4 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 239; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 259.

5 Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II," *E. I.*, VI, p. 10.

6 Mookerji, *Harṣa*, p. 31.

to his suzerainty of a few other states like those of Ānandapura, Kita (Cutch) and Su-la-cha (Surat),"[1] though it is true that on the eve of Hiuen Tsiang's visit they really were dependencies of (Mālavā) " Mo-la-po," or rather Valabhī, which had then acknowledged Harṣa's suzerainty. On the contrary the grandiloquent description of the Aihole *praśasti* would suggest a complete victory of Pulikeśin over his great northern adversary. And if this is undoubted, the victory must have been followed by the restoration of the Valabhī king Dhruvasena to his ancestral kingdom, consequent on the repulse of Harṣa from the Valabhī dominions. But the war though it came to a close, so far as Pulikeśin was concerned. soon after the repulse of Harṣa in the course of the year, was probably continued on the outskirts of Mālavā for a few years more between Dhruvasena and Harṣa—a troubled period thus accounting for the absence of state-grants down to A.D. 638.[2]

Harṣa now realised that no headway would be possible against his formidable adversary of the south, so long as the rival political system continued intact. Consequently. he seems to have attempted to wean the Valabhī ruler from his allegiance to the Chālukyas. The bait of a matrimonial alliance was held out[3] and Dhruvasena II succumbed in a moment of weakness.[4] The embroilment of the Chālukyas with the Pallavas, at this time may also have led Dhruvasena II to decide on the step. Dhruvasena exchanging one overlord for another, thus became a subordinate ally of his father-in-law. This seems to be the only rational explanation of the changed relations between the Maitrakas and the Vardhanas. The alliance continued till the last days of the two monarchs, and we have it on the authority of Hiuen Tsiang that at the quinquennial assembly or the *Mokaṣpariṣada* convoked by Harṣa at Prayāga (Allāhabad), the king of Valabhī guarded the " arena of charity " at the west of the confluence,[5] while the king of Assam, another subordinate ally of Harṣa,[6] was employed by him on the south of the Yamunā river.

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[1] We are inclined to accept Beal's (Vol. II, p. 268) identification of Su-la-cha with Surāṣtra, which is supported by Julien, rather than with Surat, as Watters (II, p. 248) would have it; for the reason that the Gurjaras in whose kingdom Surat was presumably included, are not known in the account of Hiuen Tsiang or in the inscriptional evidence to have acknowledged the supremacy of Valabhī at this time.

[2] *Vide*, Appendix F.

[3] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 242-244.

[4] The conversion of Dhruvasena II as mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang is believed to have been connected with his marriage with Harṣa's daughter, who if she was not a Buddhist had nonetheless certain predilection for that faith. Hiuen Tsiang says " the king of Valabhī was devoted to Buddhism very recently." This statement shows that the submission and marriage of the Valabhī king must have taken place a short time before Hiuen Tsiang's visit in A.D. 640. Cf. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 247; De La Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 147; Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[5] Beal, *op. cit.* (Life), p. 185.

[6] *Ibid.*

An idea of the extent of the Valabhī kingdom is obtained from the Nogāwā plates of v.s. 320[1] and v.s. 321[2] (i.e., A.D. 639 and 640 respectively). It would appear that it extended on the east upto the Ratlām state, 35 miles to the west of Ujjain, which would imply that all the intermediate territories between Valabhī and Ratlām were under the sway of Dhruvasena II. The whole of northern and central Gujarāt may thus be said to have formed part of the Valabhī kingdom.

In spite of all these military activities in the country, the greatness of the capital and the prosperity and culture of its citizens at this time is testified to by Hiuen Tsiang. He says: " Its circumference was six miles and population is numerous and wealthy. There are a hundred whose wealth amounts to a million. The rarest merchandise from distant countries is found there in abundance."[3] The caste system prevailed but was devoid of the rigidity associated with it in later times.

The *dūtaka* in the earlier grants is Sāmanta Śīlāditya, who should be identified with prince Śīlāditya, the son of Derabhaṭṭa of the Vindhya region. He officiated as the *dūtaka* upto v.s. 319 (i.e., c. A.D. 638). The *dūtaka* in the later grants is the prince Kharagraha II, the younger brother of this Śīlāditya. That he succeeded to the Valabhī throne after Dhruvasena III will be seen in the following chapters. The *Lekhaka* in the early grants of Dhruvasena II was Vatrabhaṭṭi. Later on in about v.s. 314 (i.e., A.D. 633) a son of the latter named Skandabhaṭa the Dīvirapati officiated in his place as *lekhaka*.

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1 Hultzsch, *E. I.*, VIII, p. 194.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 196; *A. S. I.*, 1902-1903, p. 235.

3 Beal, *op. et loc. cit.*; Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

CHAPTER XIII

DHARASENA IV

(A.D. 641-650)

The twelfth ruler of the Maitraka dynasty was Śrī Dharasena IV. He was the son and successor of Dhruvasena II, who, as we have seen, was the son-in-law of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj.[1]

Dharasena was the most powerful of the monarchs of Valabhī. He was called Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara Chakravartin Śrī Ajjakapādānudhyāta Śrī Dharasena.[2] Alone among the Maitrakas of Valabhī, he assumed the imperial style of Chakravartin.[3] The mention of this higher title requires explanation and confirmation. Was this merely an ornamental appellation or was it founded on fact?

It is significant that the reign of this monarch, as may be deduced from the last known date of his father, viz., v.s. 321[4] (i.e., c. A.D. 640) and his own extant records which give dates ranging from v.s. 326[5] to v.s. 330[6] (i.e., A.D. 645-649), coincide with the dark period in the history of the Chālukyas. It is well known that the reign of Pulikeśin II ended in disaster in or about the year A.D. 642[7]; and that it took no fewer than twelve years for his successor to restore the Chālukya power to its pristine greatness. The misfortune of the imperial Chālukyas was a signal for their satraps to attempt to make themselves independent of the centre. Thus from the fact that Vijayarāja, who in the heyday of their power could have been no more than a governor in charge of the northern province of Southern Gujarāt, makes no reference at all in his Kaira grant of A.D. 643[8] to the paramount line, it has been assumed that he renounced or was on the point of renouncing allegiance to Badāmī

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[1] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 267.

[2] Bhandarkar, " A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 14 ff; Bühler, " Additional Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, VII, p. 73 ff; Bühler, " Valabhī Inscriptions," *I. A.*, XV, p. 339 ff.

[3] The title Chakravartin is explained by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning " a ruler, the wheels (chakra) of whose chariot roll everywhere without obstruction," or " the ruler of a chakra or country described as extending from sea to sea." Another explanation is given in the *Viṣṇu purāṇa*, Book I, Ch. XIII, verse 46, viz., " a discuss (chakra) the sign of (the god) Viṣṇu (is to be found among the marks) on the hands of all Chakravartins (and such a ruler is one) whose powers cannot be withstood even by the gods." The word Chakravartin denotes a universal ruler and is one of the technical titles of paramount sovereigns, though it is not of such frequent occurrence as the others are, such as Mahārāja, etc.

[4] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, VIII, p. 194; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 69.

[5] Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 45; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 70.

[6] Bühler, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 335; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 73.

[7] Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 359.

[8] Fleet, " The Kheda Grant of Vijayarāja," *I. A.*, VII, p. 241; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 102.

at this period.[1] The confusion reigning in the Chāḷukya empire was doubtless availed of by the new and ambitious Maitraka king to aggrandise himself at their expense. It is worthy of note that in A.D. 649,[2] Dharasena issued two grants from what he calls "his victorious camp at Broach." Broach, as we know, was an important town of the Gurjaras, the feudatories of the Chālukyas. Now for a power that had lately abandoned the Chālukyan-Gurjara political system, and joined the hostile system of the Puṣpabhūtis to have issued grants from Broach, this city must have been wrested from its old masters by the Maitrakas after overrunning their kingdom. Since the inscriptions make no mention of Harṣa, it may be taken for granted that the war against the Gurjaras was waged by the Maitrakas on their own account and not at the command of any suzerain power. If this be so, the position of Dharasena IV in relation to Kanauj could not have been that of an ordinary vassal. The higher status of this Maitraka ruler is further shown by the fact that he had a number of Sāmantas under him, as his commands are said to have been "treated by the circle of Sāmantas as the crest-jewels worn on the head."

But when did Dharasena assume imperial status? We have four of the copper-plate grants giving dates ranging from V.S. 326 to V.S. 330 (i.e., A.D. 645-649). From the fact that the last known date of his father Dhruvasena II is V.S. 321 and the first available inscription of his successor Dhruvasena III is recorded in V.S. 332,[3] it may be concluded that Dharasēna IV ruled for about eight years, V.S. 322-323, being his first regnal year. In his very first grant issued in the year V.S. 326 (i.e., A.D. 645-646) he boldly flaunts the imperial title of Chakravartin.[4] It follows from this that the imperial title was assumed by him before he invaded southern Gujarāt—the invasion itself being probably due to the refusal of the Gurjara sovereign to acknowledge his supremacy.

It has been suggested that Dharasena assumed the imperial title by virtue of the fact that he was the grandson of Harṣa, who had died without an heir[5]—a claim which is said to have been supported by the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*. And it is also contended that the initial letter 'Dh' of the successor of Harṣa[6] as given in this work is really the initial letter of Dharasena IV, described therein as the *anuja* or descendant of Harṣa. But there are serious difficulties militating against this theory. For one thing, it is by no means clear that

[1] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 360.

[2] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*; Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 72 and 73.

[3] *Vide*, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, p. 92.

[4] Dr. Jayaswal states that Dharasena IV is not Chakravartin in Māgha of V.E. 326, while he bears that title in Āṣāḍha of the same year, from which he concludes that Dharasena IV assumed this title between Māgha and Āṣāḍha of V.E. 326, when Harṣa must have died. The grant of Māgha, however, does mention that he claimed as high a status as that of the Chakravartin. This is evident from the phrase he was "the universal sovereign" (Bhandarkar, "A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 45).

[5] Ray, *op. et loc. cit.*, Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 67, Parki, *op. cit.*, p. XLIII.

[6] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

Dharasena was the son of Harṣa's daughter.[1] For if the marriage took place between A.D. 638 and 640[2] he must have still been a minor or a mere child incapable of the achievements with which he is credited.[3]

Like other members of his line Dharasena was also distinguished for his charities. In his grant of the year 326 (A.D. 645) he donated a piece of land for the upkeep of a vihāra and for the repair of a reservoir in the vicinity. Both of these had been originally gifts of the minister Skandabhaṭa. It may be noted that the Bhikkhus who resided in this Vihāra were of Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism.[4] In the same year he issued to a Brāhmaṇa endowment amounting to 182 pādāvartas of land.[5] There are two more grants made to various Brāhmaṇas learned in the Vedas. The first one of the year 330 (i.e., c. A.D. 649) was made to a Brāhmana hailing from Ānarttapura. This was issued together with another of the same date from the royal camp at Bharukachchha. i.e., modern Broach. The *dūtaka* in the two grants of 326 is Kumāra Dhruvasena, while in those of 330 it is Rājaduhitā (i.e., a princess) Bhūpā (or Bhūvā).

It is clear from his records that the royal treasury was fully replenished at the time of Dharasena IV, for he is said to have made great donations. This is expressed by the phrase: " the lotus-like palm of his hand is (always) washed by the water (poured during the acts) of gifts." His liberality is further made clear from the fact that he reduced taxation as seen from his description that he " intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes (kara)."[6] It is well known from the description of his predecessors that they had made liberal donations either to individuals or to private institutions. But he showed greater liberality and delighted the hearts of all his people indiscriminately by reducing taxes on them.

Two attributes of the emperor may be noted: " The learning he had received through his ears is represented as splendid as his ear-ornaments; the other epithet 'Karmuka-Dhanurvēda' would imply his mastery of the science of archery. Given these attributes it was natural that Dharasena should have been a patron of scholars. It was probably in the reign of this emperor

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[1] That the Valabhī kings married more than one wife is clear from Hiuen Tsiang's account of Śīlāditya I (Beal, *op. cit.* (Life), p. 111) and it will not be wrong to suppose that Dharasena IV was Dhruvasena's son by another wife.

[2] The war between Valabhī and Kanauj must have ended, as we have supposed in c. A.D. 638 and the visit of Hiuen Tsiang who described Dhruvasena as Harṣa's son-in-law took place in or a little before A.D. 640.

[3] See Appendix G: *Vajrata or the 'Va' of the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa.*

[4] Bhandarkar, " A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 45.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 14; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 71.

[6] Fleet, " Aliṇā Copper-plate Inscription of Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 183.

that Bhaṭṭi,[1] the author of the Rāvaṇavadha, well known as the Bhaṭṭikāvya, flourished and actually wrote his work under the patronage of Dharasena IV.[2] This work is a grammatical poem composed with the object of illustrating Pāṇini's and the Kaumudi's sūtras and was long regarded as an authority on questions of grammar.[3] The list of Alaṁkāras given by Bhaṭṭi is in a certain measure original when compared with those of Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha. Its source is still unknown. It is said of this poem that "it is a lamp in the hands of those whose eye is grammar, but a mirror in the hands of the blind for others."[4]

King Dharasena IV seems to have left no male issue to succeed him to the Valabhī throne. Hence the succession passed to Derabhatta's line. The eldest son of the latter officiated as a *dūtaka* of Valabhī grants as long as V.S. 319 (A.D. 638) during the reign of Dhruvasena II. This must have happened during the minority of the prince Dharasena IV. Thereafter his younger brother Kharagraha II appeared as *dūtaka* for some years. From this it may be inferred that Śīlāditya must have expired before Dhruvasena II and when Dharasena IV was not old enough to shoulder the responsibility of this important office. However, as we have seen above, Dharasena IV succeeded to the Valabhī throne after his father's death. He selected the youngest of his cousins Dhruvasena III as *dūtaka* of his grants, and subsequently, as his successor to the Valabhī throne. This is an instance to show that the Maitraka kings used to select their successors.

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1 In the colophon it is said:

काव्यमिदं रचितं मया वलभ्यां श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम्।
कीर्तिरतो भवतान्नृपस्य तस्य प्रेमकरः क्षितीपो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥३६॥

Bhaṭṭikāvya, Ch. XXXII, pp. 42-43.

2 In the colophon the author says that he wrote this poem at the court of king Dharasena of Valabhī. But it is not known of which of the four rulers of this name he was a contemporary. If he were the same Bhaṭṭi Bhaṭa of Mahichchhaka who received a grant from Dhruvasena III in V.S. 334 as suggested by Dr. Hultzsch ("Notes on Idioms," *J. V. O. I.*, I, p. 139) he would naturally be the same poet patronised by Dharasena IV whose known dates are V.S. 326-330.

3 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 116; Anderson, "Some accounts of the Bhaṭṭikāvya," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, p. 20.

4 *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, Vol. II, verse 33, p. 310.

दीपतुल्यः प्रबन्धोऽयं शब्दलक्षणचक्षुषाम्।
हस्तामर्ष इवान्धानां भवेद् व्याकरणादृते ॥३३॥

CHAPTER XIV

DHRUVASENA III

(A.D. 650 to 654-655)

After Dharasena IV succession was restored to the elder branch of the Maitrakas, the line of Śīlāditya I, who was a brother of Dharasena's grandfather, Kharagraha I. Dharasena IV seems to have left no male issue[1] and hence was succeeded by Dhruvasena III, son of Derabhaṭṭa and grandson of Śīlāditya, Dharmāditya. He was probably in charge of a district near the Vindhya mountains, the erstwhile conquest of Derabhaṭṭa, his father, and succeeded as Dhruvasena III to the throne of Valabhī.

Three of his copper-plate grants are found. Two are dated respectively in v.s. 332,[2] and v.s. 334,[3] while the third one is undated.[4] The first one records the grant of a village of Pedhapada in Vāmansthalī, the modern Vanthalī in the Junāgaḍha state. The beneficiary of the second grant v.s. 334 (i.e., c. A.D. 653), was Bhaṭṭibhaṭa, who was a son of Bappa and a resident of Mahichchhaka. We are tempted to guess that this Bhaṭṭī was the same man who wrote the *Bhaṭṭikāvya.* The other grant is a Buddhist grant donated to the famous Duḍḍāvihāra in the *Svatala* of Valabhī. A village named Rākṣasaka included in Kāśahṛda was granted for maintenance of the inmates of the monastery. The last known record of Dharasena IV is dated v.s. 330[5] and the first known date of Kharagraha II who succeeded Dhruvasena III is v.s. 337.[6] From this account Dhruvasena's reign may be taken to be of about four or five years' duration.

The Maitrakas, it would seem, did not or could not continue the grandiloquent titles such as Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara, Chakravartin etc.[7] They are definitely dropped by Dhruvasēna who was content to bear the old religious title of the family—Paramamaheśvara. Now

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[1] Mention of princess Bhūpā (or Bhūvā), probably Dharasena's daughter in the capacity of a *dūtaka* of his grant confirms the view that Dharasena had no male issue. Generally in Valabhī records the heir-apparent is found in the office of *Jūtaka*. For some time Dharasena IV may not have decided as to whom the throne should be entrusted after him—to his daughter or cousin, but finally, he seems to have made up his mind to give it to the youngest of his three cousins.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 92.

[3] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, I, p. 85; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 74.

[4] Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (*N. S.*), I, p. 35; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 75.

[5] Bühler, *I. A.*, XV, p. 339; Achārya, *op. cit.*, No. 73.

[6] Bühler, *op. cit.* (*I. A.*), VIII, p. 76; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 76.

[7] It may also be argued that the title Chakravartin may be assumed by the conqueror himself and it could not be hereditary. But even otherwise the omission of the other imperial titles would signify that Dhruvasena could not retain the status acquired by Dharasena IV.

this loss of the former imperial titles obviously indicates a diminution of their power—a circumstance which coincides with the military activities of Pulikeśin II's son Vikramāditya I. Of him the records say that "he (Vikramāditya I) conquered in many battles, by means of his horse of the breed called Chitrakantha, and with the edge of his sword": that he "acquired for himself the (regal) fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings, and then made a burden of the whole kingdom to be presided over by one (sole monarch)," that he "confirmed the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇas, which had been confiscated under (those same) three kings," and that he "conquered the hostile kings in country after country, and re-acquired the (regal) fortune of his ancestors."[1] It seems certain that he came into hostile contact with the Maitrakas also, since the latter, as we have seen, had encroached on the Chālukya territory in the days of their misfortune. An inscription of Dhruvasena III of A.D. 653 referring to his "victorious camp" at Sīrisimmiṇika, seems to point to a struggle with a hostile power at about this time. This power could have been none other than the Chālukyas, who, as the assumption of lower titles by the present Maitraka ruler would show, emerged victorious from the struggle, and as a result retrieved their dominions in Southern Gujarāt. In fact in c. A.D. 655 we have a Chālukya governor, the Sendraka prince Allaśakti Pṛthivīvallabha making a grant of the village Baliśa which is identified with Waneśa in the Bārdoli tāluka of the Surat district.[2] This was precisely the territory which was in the charge of Vijayarāja, the Chālukya governor of Pulikeśi's time,[3] for the villages mentioned in his Kaira grant are all to be found in the same (Surat) district.[4] No wonder for the nonce the grants fail to wax eloquent on the achievements of the Maitraka ruler. The reason is patent: his reign was inglorious. He is given the conventional praise that his "ears had been adorned with extensive sacred knowledge of various kinds." It is highly probable that the Gurjaras appearing in the baggage train of the Chālukyas were restored to their principality in northern Gujarāt.

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1 Fleet, "Five Copper-plate Grants of the Western Chālukya Dynasty, from the Karnul District," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, p. 226; cf. Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 361.

2 Bühler, "Bagumra Grant," *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 266.

3 Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 359.

4 In his well-written article "New Light on the History of Mediæval Gujarāt," Prof. Mirashi (*Acharya-Puṣpāñjali Volume*, p. 53) observes that Southern Gujarāt was placed by Pulikeśin II under the Sendrakas after overthrowing the Kaḷachuris. His only reason seems to be that the Bagumra plates of the Sendraka prince Allaśakti give a short genealogy of his line beginning with his grandfather Bhānuśakti. From which he concludes that Southern Gujarāt was ruled by the Sendrakas for three generations, Bhānuśakti, being the first ruler. It must, however, be observed that the mention of his ancestor by Allaśakti is no indication that these had ruled over the territory under his charge—a supposition which, as pointed out above, is disproved by the fact that in A.D. 643 this very same territory was under the Chālukya Vijayarāja.

CHAPTER XV

KHARAGRAHA II

(A.D. 655-658)

Kharagraha II, like Śīlāditya I, had a biruda Dharamāditya. It is strange that he succeeded his younger brother[1] Dhruvasena III to the throne of Valabhī.

From the fact that the records of Kharagraha II make less than usually complimentary and respectful reference to Dhruvasena III it has been suggested that Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from his younger brother.[2] Be that as it may, the circumstance of the succession passing from the younger to the elder is rather suspicious and may perhaps show that it was not accomplished in a peaceful manner. However, it is more plausible that Dhruvasena went under in the struggle with the Chāḷukyas, and was thereafter succeeded by Kharagraha. And the fact that the latter betrays less respect for him in the record may possibly be due to this circumstance along with the fact that he being the elder brother of Dhruvasena III may not have paid respect to his younger brother in the usual manner.

The only known grant of this king is dated v.s. 337 (i.e., c. A.D. 656). It was issued from the victorious camp at Pūlindaka, a circumstance from which it is possible to deduce that the war with the Chālukyas was continued during this king's rule. This inscription was written by an officer who was Dīvirapati or the chief secretary, and minister of peace and war, named Aṇahila. The *dūtaka* of the grant was pṛmatṛ or survey officer Śrīnāga.[3] The donee of the gift recorded by this inscription is a Ṛgvedi Brāhmana of the Sārkarākṣi gotra, one Nārāyaṇa hailing from Ānandapura and residing in Kheṭaka.

It was this Kharagraha who seems to have officiated as *dūtaka* in the later grants of Dhruvasena II (v.s. 320-23). Anyway as we saw above, the throne passed from Dhruvasena II to Dharasena IV who may have been a

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1 Dharasena IV entrusted the Valabhī kingdom to Dhruvasena III (youngest of the three cousins) probably because he was the cleverest of the three brothers. After Dhruvasena III, his elder brother Kharagraha II came to the throne. The reason for this may be that either Dhruvasena III died in battle leaving no male issue or, as the *Bombay Gazetteer* suggests, Kharagraha II took the kingdom by force from him, and Dhruvasena's eldest brother Śīlāditya may have died before both his brothers. The other possibility suggested by scholars (cf. Mandlik, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 332) is the clerical error in using the word 'Agraja' for 'Angaja' in the records, and thus considering Kharagraha as Dhruvasena's younger brother. However, the latter explanation cannot be correct, as the word 'Agraja' is used in more than one grant of the same ruler, which obviously cannot be a clerical mistake.

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 92.

3 Bühler, "Grant of the Valabhī King," *I. A.*, VII, p. 73.

minor in the early years of Dhruvasena II's reign. The choice of Dharasena IV, however, fell on Dhruvasena III as successor and *dūtaka* of his grants and not on Kharagraha II. But it was Kharagraha II that was destined to succeed to the Valabhī throne which he obtained by the death of his younger brother.

That he was very generous like other Maitraka kings, in making grants, is clear from the Valabhī records which mention him as one who "imparted wealth to the suppliants." He not only made grants but took special care to renew the old grants that had lapsed during the reign of his predecessors. Even as a king he is said to have promulgated the varṇāśrama system of the Āryan society. It is said that like *dharma* (religion) incarnated, he well established the duties of the various Varṇas and Āśramas.[1]

The writer of his grant has praised him very much by the *Vyatireka* (excellence) figure of speech[2] wherein the king is represented to excel Viṣṇu through a number of Ślihas (puns), e.g., it is said that this " king has distributed 'Lakṣmī' (here it means wealth) among his praṇayinas (suppliants), has turned out 'gadā' (disease), has raised up the chakra (whole number) of 'Sudarsana's (good scriptures), has given up sports of a child, has not cast down (aḍhah) the Dvijātis (Brāhmaṇas) has conquered the world by a single 'vikrama' (exploit), has not taken to a jala (dull) bed, and thus has been an extraordinary Puruṣōttama (the best of men), while the traditional Puruṣōttama (Viṣṇu) has not imparted Lakṣmī (his wife) to the Praṇayins (suitors), has not turned out the 'gadā' (mace), has not raised up the sudarśana chakra (wheel), has not given up sports of a child, has cost the dvijāti (bird) beneath him, has conquered the world not by one Vikrama (stride) and has taken to a jala (water's bed)." What the passage implies is generally to show that the king was liberal, healthy, learned, respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas, valiant and active, and all the qualities of a great king according to the description were found in him.[3]

Like Dhruvasena III, king Kharagraha also seems to have left no son behind him. Thus both the younger sons of Derabhaṭa died without leaving a male issue.

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1 Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 185.
2 In this figure of speech a comparison is made.
3 Fleet, *op. et. loc. cit.*

CHAPTER XVI

SILADITYA II

(C. A.D. 658-685)

Śīlāditya II was the son of Śīlāditya,[1] the elder brother of Kharagraha II. From the description of the Valabhī records it seems that this brother of Kharagraha had never attained to the regal status, and that when the throne fell vacant on his death, it went in the absence probably of other claimants, to Śīlāditya II who was next in the line of succession to Kharagraha II, the late ruler. In his inscriptions, however, Śīlāditya II has thus honoured the memory of his father: "the lord of the earth whose breast is the mountain Vindhya."[2] This description suggests that like his father Derabhaṭṭa, Śīlāditya was the master of the territory round about the Vindhya mountains, and that he probably ruled conjointly with the king of Valabhī in his general policy.

Eleven copper-plate records of Śīlāditya II have so far come to light with dates ranging from V.S. 342[3] (i.e., c. A.D. 662) to V.S. 357[4] (i.e., c. A.D. 676). Hence it may be assumed that his reign began in or about A.D. 658—two years after the only record of his predecessor was issued—and ended somewhere in the neighbourhood of A.D. 685, six years before the first known record of his successor Śīlāditya III.

It would appear that the reign of Śīlāditya II was attended with gradual success, as his grants record that he "day by day increased (his) circle of accomplishments, like the new cold rayed (moon) day by day increasing (its) digits."[5] It may be concluded from this that he slowly retrieved the losses suffered by his family in the previous reign. It will be remembered how in the reign of Dhruvasena III the old dominions of the Chāḷukyas in Gujarāt were recovered by Vikramāditya I, who appointed Allaśakti Pṛthivīvallabha, the Sendraka chief, as his governor. Kharagraha II who followed Dhruvasena on the Valabhī throne, had some hopes of restoring the losses, but they were never materialised. It was thus left to Śīlāditya II to try to reinstate the fallen fortunes of his family. He seems to have taken to his task in right earnest ever since the outset of his reign. He was so successful in this enterprise that he seems to have ousted the Sendrakas from southern Gujarāt, so that it soon became necessary for Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman, the brother of the

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1 Cf. *Appendix D.*

2 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

3 Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 78.

4 Princep, "the Kaira grant of Śīlāditya," *J. A. S. B.*, VII, p. 968; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 85.

5 Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 185.

emperor, to lead a campaign against the Maitrakas to regain this province. His Nāsik plates of 20th March A.D. 666 expressly say that "with his bright-tipped arrows Jayasiṁha defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Mahī and Naramadā."[1] Now this is precisely the tract of land under the direct rule of the Chālukyas since the palmy days of Pulikeśin II, a tract which became a bone of contention during the dark period of their history between them and the Maitrakas. Obviously for this territory to have become again the theatre of war soon after its recovery by the Chālukyas, the latter must have been forced to withdraw within a few years. This was just the time when the Pallavas in the south were making frantic efforts to recover their conquests while Vikramāditya had not yet definitely rolled back the tide of their aggression. This task was accomplished only some time in A.D. 670. In his Honnur plates dated Vaiśākha ś.s. 592 (A.D. 670) we find him "residing at the great camp at Malliyur to the west of Kāñchīpura,"[2] and therefore carrying the war into the enemy's own country. But a fortnight later he is already at his capital Paṭṭadakal with a proud addition to his *birudas:* victorious over enemy kings (ripu-narendra-(ndran) ḍisi (isi) jitva etc. . . .[3])—an ample proof to the success of this campaign.

We regret we cannot say with certainty who this Vajjaḍa was and in the absence of more definite information we can only hazard the suggestion that he was probably a general of the Maitrakas or that the name may be equated with king Śīlāditya, as Prof. Mirashi has tried to do;[4] for there was no contemporary north Indian ruler, known to research, powerful enough to dispute successfully the possession of southern Gujarāt.[5]

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1 Khare, "The Nāsik Plates of Jayasimha," *Sources of the Medieval History of the Deccan*, I, p. 8 ff. Cf. Mirashi, "New Light on the Medieval History of Gujarat," *Āchārya-Puspañjali Volume*, p. 56. In a recent article, "A Note on Vajraṭa," *I. H. Q.*, XX, p. 353 ff, Prof. Mirashi has suggested K. Sam. 436, i.e., A.D. 683 as the date of the above mentioned plate instead of A.D. 666 without specifying reasons therefor. However, in the same article the Professor concludes through different arguments that the victory over Vajraṭa took place some time before A.D. 670 which very well agrees with the date for this war suggested above.

2 *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1939, p. 134.

3 Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VII, p. 219 ff. It is important to note that these plates were issued in the 16th year of Vikramāditya's reign exactly as the Honnur plates. The difference is only that while the former are dated Vaiśākha-Jyeṣtha amāvāsyā, the later were issued in Purṇimā. From the fact that the Śaka year is wrong (ś.s. 531-32), Dr. Fleet has rashly concluded that the plates themselves are spurious. Genuine plates with wrong dates are legion.

4 Appendix G.

5 According to Prof. Mirashi, the name Vajjaḍa is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa. The Rāṣṭrakūta records of a later period actually name him Vajraṭa. But no similar name is found in the contemporary documents. True, there is a Vajrabhaṭa, a feudatory of Varmalāṭa of the Vasantagaḍha inscription (cf. *E. I.*, IX, p. 19). The former however, flourished half a century earlier (cf. Mirashi, *op. et loc. cit.*). Hence it is very likely that, as we have supposed above, this Vajjaḍa was a chief or a general in the Maitraka army, or it may be another name of king Śīlāditya himself (cf. Mirashi, "A Note on Vajraṭa," *I. H. Q.*, XX, p. 353 ff.); *Appendix* G.

The battle which thus ended in victory to the Chāḷukya arms must be ranked among the decisive battles of Chālukya history. It was deemed equal to the rout of Harṣa by Pulikeśin II and was celebrated as such in the śāsanas of the Rāṣṭrakutas, who having defeated the Chālukyas in their turn sought to aggrandise themselves vicariously by mentioning this Chālukya achievement in their records.[1] With the decline of the power of the Maitrakas, the northern frontiers of the Chālukya empire were secured from their incursions and Vikramāditya was left free to deal with his southern enemies. As a result Śīlāditya never donned the imperial titles.

Vikramāditya, however, did not reinstate the Sendraka chief as governor or viceroy of his northern provinces. Clearly, this part of the empire had to be placed in safer and stronger hands, if his attention were not to be distracted from the all-important task of eliminating the Pallava peril. Hence he made it over to the charge of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha. Accordingly we are told in the Navsāri plates of his son Śryāśraya Śilāditya, dated K. 421 (A.D. 670-671) that the prosperity of Jayasiṁha "was augmented by his elder brother Vikramāditya."[2] Southern Gujarāt with the adjoining territory of Nāsik remained under the rule of Jayasiṁha throughout the reign of his brother. His Nāsik plates referred to above, dated K. 416 (A.D. 666), record the grant of the village of Dhōṇḍaka in the Nāsikyaviṣaya (modern Dhoṇḍgāon near Nāsik).[3] Five years later in K. 421 (A.D. 670-671), another grant of a village was made on his behalf by his son, the above-named Śryāśraya Śīlāditya.[4] This was the village of Āsaṭṭigrāma, which is identified with Aṣṭagām, seven miles south-east of Navasāri.[5] Finally in K. 443 (A.D. 693) we find the same Śīlāditya, while yet a Yūvarāja issuing another grant in this territory.[6] This was the village of Osumbhala in Karmanēya āhāra, the present Umbhad, seven miles to the south of Kamrej and fifteen miles to the north-west of Surat. The Sendrakas in the meanwhile had been transferred to Khandesh where we find Allaśakti's son Jayaśakti granting a village Seṇāṇa-Kalaśa by his Mundkhede plates dated Śaka S. 602 (A.D. 680).[7]

The Maitrakas, however, were not altogether crushed by the Chālukyan victory. Three of their records dated V.S. 350 (A.D. 669)[8] V.S. 352[9] (A.D. 671)

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1 Bühler, "Rathod Grants," *I. A.*, XII, p. 187, line 8.

2 Cf. Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Hultzsch, "Navsari Plates of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya," *E. I.* VIII, p. 229; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 103.

3 Khare, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 229; Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*

5 Bühler, "Gurjara Inscriptions," *E. I.*, XVII, p. 198.

6 *Transactions of the Vienna Oriental Congress*, Aryan Section, p. 211 ff; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 104.

7 Chandorkar, "A Copper-plate grant of the Sendraka Chief Jayaśakti," *Prabhāt of Dhuliā*, I, p. 1; cf. Mirashi, "Sendraka Jayasakti's Inscription," *Bhārata Itihāsa-Saṁshodhaka-Mandala*, XVII, p. 1; *Bhārata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandal Annual Report*, Saka 1834, p. 169; Mirashi, *op. et loc. cit.*

8 Oza, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 74; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 82.

9 Bühler, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 305; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 83.

and V.S. 356[1] (A.D. 675) were issued respectively from their victorious camps at Kheṭaka, Meghāvana and Pichchhipajivasak. All these places were presumably not very far the from Chālukya-Maitraka frontier. These circumstances show that frontier warfare was maintained for a considerable while. The Gurjaras probably bore the brunt of this warfare—a conclusion which the Gurjara records go to support. For it is said of Daḍḍa III, the contemporary[2] Gurjara ruler, that his "other name of Bāhusahāya[3] was made famous by the strength of (his) arm that was displayed in tearing through innumerable hosts of elephants that surrounded thousands of kings in the great wars waged with the great kings of the east and of the west."[4] This is indeed a conventional praise, but it admits of the inference that his reign was troubled, a fact which is again confirmed by the paucity of records of this ruler.

That in the year V.S. 357 (i.e., A.D. 676) Śīlāditya made a grant of a village in Bharukachchha Viṣaya,[5] shows that this part of the country, conquered during the reign of Dharasena IV, was definitely under the Maitraka sway during Śīlāditya II's reign. However, with the above-mentioned success of the Chālukya kings, it passed once again to the Gurjaras, who were the feudatories of the latter. This happened some time before K.S. 456 (i.e., A.D. 705), as is indicated by the Navasāri grant of Jayabhaṭṭa III, which records the donation of a village Śamipadraka to a Brāhmaṇa residing at Sruddika.[6] Both these villages belonged to the Bharukachchha viṣaya.

Another event of historical importance that took place during the reign of Śīlāditya was an Arab raid against Goghā,[7] a port on the eastern coast of Kāṭhiāwāḍ in the vicinity of Hastavapra. The Arab commander Ismail landed at Goghā with a mighty army in A.H. 57 (A.D. 677).[8] The Arab historians give no further details about this expedition. It seems, therefore, that the Arab army met with a disastrous defeat at the place and gained no access to the coast of Surāṣṭra. Anyway, the occasion gave an opportunity to the Maitraka king who was then the ruler of that part, to display his prowess in driving away the foreigners.

In the grants of this king we find two princes officiating as *Dūtakas*. The portion containing the name of the earliest grant, dated V.S. 343, is illegible. The *dūtaka* in the grants dated from V.S. 346 to 352 is prince Dhruvasena.

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1 Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 84.

2 *Ante*, Ch. XI, note 10.

3 Bhagavanlal Indraji, "A New Gurjara Copper-plate Grant," *I. A.*, XIII, pp. 79-80.

4 i.e., He whose (only) helper was his arms.

5 *A. S. R. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 92.

6 Bhagvanlal Indraji, "A New Gurjara Copper-plate Grant," *I. A.*, XIII, p. 70 ff.; Acharya, *op. cit.*, II, No. 117.

7 Muhamad Safiullaha, *Mirate Mustafabad*, II, p. 495; Kokil, "The Arab Invasions," *Forbes Traimāsik*, III, pp. 25-26.

8 *Ibid.*

It is quite probable that the same prince was the *dūtaka* in the earlier grant. Accordingly, it may be assumed that prince Dhruvasena who acted as the *dūtaka* as early as v.s. 343 was of an age to shoulder the responsibility of this important office even at the beginning of Śīlāditya II's reign. The *dūtaka* in the next two grants dated v.s. 356 and 357 (Pauṣa) is another prince named Kharagraha. But Dhruvasena appears in this capacity as *dūtaka* once again, and he remained in office till the last known date of Śīlāditya II's reign. Thus prince Dhruvasena seems to have officiated as the *dūtaka* throughout this reign. Evidently it was Dhruvasena who had the first claim to hold this post. It seems probable that he was substituted by prince Kharagraha for a temporary period only, when the former was probably engaged with some more responsible duty. Both these princes are designated simply as Rājaputras.

Another officer, viz., the Lekhaka of king Śīlāditya's grant, was Dīvirapati Aṇahila, the son of Skandabhaṭa, who was a lekhaka from Dhruvasena III's reign (v.s. 334) onwards. In one grant he was substituted by another dīvirapati named Mammaka who was also a Sandhivigrahādikṛta, the Mahāpratihāra and a Sāmanta.

From the time of this ruler onwards no reference to the Vindhya region is made separately. This suggests that king Śīlāditya inherited not only the Valabhī empire but also the Vindhya division which was so long governed (conjointly with Valabhī kings) by his father and grandfather Śīlāditya and Derabhaṭṭa respectively.

CHAPTER XVII

SILADITYA III

Śīlāditya III was the son and successor of Śīlāditya II. As a prince he seems to have borne the name occurring in the grants of his father as that of the *dūtaka* Dhruvasena.[1] We know that the *dūtaka* was generally the heir-apparent; and hence it could be supposed that the name Śīlāditya must have been assumed by him on his accession to the throne—a practice in which he was followed by all his successors.

In the very first inscription that we have of him dated v.s. 372[2] (i.e., c. A.D. 691), he is given the imperial style of Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara. This is easy to understand in view of the fact that the bitter struggle between the Chālukyas and the Pallavas had not yet ended in a decisive victory to the former. Though it is true that the Pallava records credit Vikramāditya I with having received "by surrender, the town of Kāñchī, after defeating the lord of the Pallavas," and with "having obeisance done to him by the lord of Kāñchī, who had bowed down to none other," the Pallava records claim for his contemporary Parameśvara-Varman I that he "crushed the conceit of (*his*) enemies," and that he was "a sun in destroying the darkness which was the army of the Chālukya king."[3] Nor were the efforts of the next Chālukya emperor Vinayāditya attended with better success. His records make it abundantly clear that during his reign the Pallavas were far from being crushed. In fact the victories against the Pallavas that are attributed to him are of the time of his father. In their stereotyped eulogy the later inscriptions make it a point to aver that it was "*at the command of his father*" (my italics) that Vinayāditya "arrested the extremely exalted power of the lord of Kāñchī, whose kingdom consisted of three component dominions";[4] or as another record picturesquely observes, he vanquished "the proud army of the confederacy of the three (trairājya) and the lord of Kāñchī, at the command of his father, just as Kārtikeya at the command of Śiva, defeated the very insolent host of demons."[5] Nevertheless, it is at all

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1 Acharya, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, (N. S.) I, p. 73; Bhandarkar, A. *S. W. C. Report*, 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, 80, 81, 82, 83, etc.

2 *Bha. Pra. San. Ins.*, p. 54; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 88. The last known grant of his predecessor is v.s. 357 (A.D. 676), while the first known grant of this king is v.s. 372 (i.e., A.D. 691) and the last known date is v.s. 382 (i.e., A.D. 701); this shows that he ruled for 25-30 years.

3 Krishnasastri, "Velurpalaiyam Plates of Vijaya Nandivarman," *S. I. I.*, II, p. 511.

4 Fleet, "Five Copper Plate Grants of the Western Chāḷukya Dynasty," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVI, pp. 231 and 242 (Togaṛachedu plates).

5 Pathak, "Kendur Plates of Kirtivarman II, s.s. 672," *E. I.*, IX, p. 205; cf. Heras, *Studies in the Pallava History*, pp. 48-49.

events clear that Vinayāditya preserved in their integrity the conquests of Vikramāditya, and the frontiers, as had been fixed, were respected by both the powers. Under these conditions it is no wonder that the Maitraka contemporary is seen unhesitatingly to flaunt his imperial titles.

In the official account of his family Śilāditya is described as one, "(who achieved) supreme lordship (by engaging in the creation of another world); the diffused fire of whose great prowess played about on the temples of (his) enemies' elephants . . . whose umbrella was constituted by the canopy of (his) fame, . . . (and) who was a most devout worshipper of (the god) Maheśvara."[1] Naturally enough, Vinayāditya could not look supinely at the ambitions of his northern neighbours. Moreover, a number of new dynasties were making a bid for sovereignty in northern India. We hear for the first time in c. A.D. 700 of a new family of the Rāstrakūṭas in Berar deriving its origin from Elichpur in Central India, which were destined to take the place of the imperial Chālukyas later in the eighth century.[2] In Magadha the Gupta house of Mālavā was firmly entrenched. While Vikramāditya I was engaged in the task of recovering the lost Chālukya kingdom, Ādityasena Gupta, the representative of this house, so strengthened his position that he was able, before long, in A.D. 672, to make himself the paramount sovereign of the north by celebrating the horse sacrifice.[3] His son Devagupta III seems to have exercised the same wide powers, since he is styled, like his father, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara* . . . etc.[4] Vinayāditya, therefore, led an expedition to the north, and attempted to bring these various powers under his control. An inscription of A.D. 694 informs us that by this time he had succeeded in imposing his suzerainty on the Mālavās and the Haihayas:[5] while according to an account which later became official, he had "by churning all the kings of the north (or the lord of all the north) . . . acquired the exalted Pālidhvaja[6] and all other signs of supreme

1 Fleet, "The Alinā Copper-plate Inscription of Śilāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 186.

2 Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

3 Fleet, "Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 213.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 66.

6 Pālidhvaja seems to have been a symbol of universal empire; K. B. Pathak, "The explanation of the term Pālidhvaja," *I. A.*, XIV, 104, says in this connection: "the term Pālidhvaja, or Pāliketana, does not itself mean any particular kind of flag, but denotes a peculiar arrangement, in rows of the ten kinds of flags described below:—pāli, in Sanskrit, in fact signifies 'a row.' In each direction, a hundred and eight flags of each kind—or in other words, a thousand and eighty flags in all—are ranged in lines. Thus, the total number of flags, in the four directions, is four thousand three hundred and twenty. We are further told that the Lord Jina adopted the Pālidhvaja as an indication of his universal empire over the three worlds after the conquest of Mōha or Māyā, or 'delusion.' Lakṣmīsenabhaṭṭāraka, the head of the Jaina Maṭh at Kolhāpur, says that some years ago a pālidhvaja was constructed there in honour of Mahāvīra."

power."[1] The Mālavās here referred to, were evidently the Maitrakas, who in the words of the above record, were " brought into service equally with the Āḷupas, Gaṅgas and others of old standing."[2] The campaign was apparently crowned with success. The Chālukya sovereignty was extended over the entire territory which was once included in the glorious empire of the Vākāṭakas. Vinayāditya was now in fact as well as in name the proud successor of this illustrious dynasty, and accordingly he took over their imperial symbols of Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[3]

Śīlāditya III seems to have ruled from A.D. 690 to 710. Five of his copper-plate grants are known to us, the earliest being of V.S. 375[4] (c. A.D. 694) and the last V.S. 387 (i.e., c. A.D. 706).[5] Three other inscriptions record V.S. 376,[6] V.S. 381,[7] and V.S. 382,[8] as their dates and with the Brāhmana donees.

As regards the *dūtaka* of the grant issued by king Śīlāditya, we find mention of two princes, viz., Kharagraha and Dharasena.[9] The former appears as a *dūtaka* in his earlier grants dated V.S. 372, 375 and 376, and the latter in that of 381 and 382. The former *dūtaka*, viz., Kharagraha was probably the same who appeared in Śīlāditya II's grant dated 356 and 357. He was probably the younger brother of king Śīlāditya III. The office of *dūtaka* was taken up by prince Dhruvasena who was probably the yuvarāja and officiated as *dūtaka* on attaining his maturity.

The writer of the grant was Śrī Haragaṇa, son of Bappabhōgika, who was also a balādhikṛta (commander-in-chief). The writer Haragana himself was a dīvirapati. This office, according to the records, thus shifted from the

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1 *E. C.*, X, Kl. 63; Fleet, " The Nerur Plates," *I. A.*, IX, p. 129. There is no evidence for the statement of Saletore (*Life in Gupta Age*, p. 88) that " the sovereign whom Vinayāditya defeated is also styled as Vajraṭa in Western Chāḷukya as well as some Rāṣṭrakūṭa records." The sources cited by this writer, *I. A.*, XI, p. 114, 119; IX, p. 129, do not support the assertion. Cf. *Appendix G*.

2 *E. C.*, XI, Dg. 66.

3 *E. C.*, X, Kl. 63; cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, pp. 96, 106.

4 Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 88; *B. P. S. I.*, p. 54.

5 *A. S. R. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 92.

6 Kielhorn, " A Copper-plate Grant from Valabhi," *E. I.*, V, p. 69; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 89.

7 Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 90.

8 Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.*; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 91.

9 *B. P. S. I.*, p. 54; Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 69; Bhandarkar, *A. S. W. C. Rept.*, 1915-16, p. 55; Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 88, 89 and 92.

family of Aṇahila to that of Haragaṇa, who was succeeded by Śrī Ādityasena, the adopted son of the former.[1]

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[1] Another event said to have taken place during this period was the fall of Pañchāsara which was ruled by a petty chieftain, Jayaśekhara of the Chāpoṭaka line. Although there is no epigraphical evidence to support this event, this is referred to by the *Ratnamālā*, a historical poem. The victory is said to be of king Bhūvaḍ of Kalyāṇa, and the battle is said to have taken place in Vik. s. 752 (A.D. 696-97). Later on the posthumous son of the vanquished king named Vanarāja founded a new kingdom at Aṇahilavāḍa in Vik. s. 802, i.e., (A.D. 746-47).

In the bardic tradition, as gathered by the late Vrajlāl Śāstri (cf. *Rāsmālā*, p. 40 f.n.), some light is thrown on the relations of Valabhī with Kanauj and Pañchāsara. According to this tradition the country of Gujarāt was under the sway of the king of Kanauj. The daughter of this king named Ratnagaṅgā was married to king Dhruvapaṭu of Valabhī. The Gurjara country was given as a dowry to this princess Another daughter of this king was given to the king of Lāṭa The Kanauj king himself was a staunch Buddhist and had also turned his son-in-law into a Buddhist. As a result of this conversion the Valabhī king is said to have levied taxes on the land which was formerly donated to the vedic Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt. This was to please his father-in-law, the king of Kanauj. On hearing this, king Jayaśekhara of the petty kingdom of Pañcāsara, taking the side of the vedic Brāhmaṇas, snatched away the Gurjara country from the Valabhī king. Thereupon king Sudhanavā of Kanauj came to the help of the Valabhī king, killed Jayaśekhara and annexed Pañcāsara.

In this traditional account it has not been made clear as to who this king of Kanauj was. The name of the Valabhī king is said to be Dhruvapaṭu. This, it may be suggested, was king Śilāditya III who was a contemporary of Jayaśekhara and who also had another name, probably Dhruvasena (this name is known from the grant of his predecessor, in whose time he must have acted as a *dūtaka*). That Jayaśekhara lived in this period is proved by the account given in the Ratnamālā.

CHAPTER XVIII

SILADITYA IV

Śīlāditya III was succeeded by his son who styled himself Śīlāditya IV. As a prince he must have borne his personal name Dharasena which occurs in the grants of his father.[1] In the official account of the family as recorded in the Aliṇā grant of his successor Śīlāditya VI, it is said of him that "the waterlilies" of his feet "were tinted by being covered over with the rays of the jewels in the locks of hair on the tops of the heads of all the chieftains, who did obeisance through the affection (produced) by (his) splendour."[2]

He is invariably accorded in his own grants, no less than in those of his successors, the imperial titles of the family: Paramamaheśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, and Parameśvara—a fact which shows that during his rule the Maitrakas renounced the obedience, more or less nominal, which they had yielded to the Chāḷukyas. His reign synchronises with the rule of the unwarlike Vijayāditya, whose achievements, according to the records, were in the art of peace,[3] when the Chālukyas, it would seem, beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks.

But conditions changed with the succession of Vikramāditya II in A.D. 733.[4] He is said to have "resolved to uproot the Pallava king, his natural foe, who had robbed the splendour of the former kings of his line, who on coming to the Tuṇḍaka district in great haste, beat and put to flight, at the opening of the campaign, the opposing Pallava king."[5] Naturally enough, he could have started on his southern expedition only after he had seen to the security of his northern frontiers. Here, as we have already observed, the Maitraka monarch was giving himself imperial airs, and was possibly harassing his Gurjara neighbour, the faithful feudatory of the Chāḷukyas. Accordingly, the imperial troops moved across the Maitraka frontier, an enterprise in which they were presumably joined by the Gurjara chief Jayabhaṭṭa IV. The expedition was a success, and, Śīlāditya was compelled to surrender a large part of his kingdom. We are informed in the Sanjan plates that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra I had married the Chāḷukya princess Bhāvanāga by rākṣasa form of marriage at Kaira.[6] Naturally, this well-known part of the Maitraka territory[7]

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[1] Acharya, "Unpublished Valabhī Copper-plates," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, (N. S)., I, p. 75; Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, V, p. 69; Acharya, *op. cit.*. Nos. 90 91.

[2] Fleet, "The Aliṇā Copper-plate inscription of Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 187-88.

[3] Fleet, *The Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 374.

[4] Fleet *op. et loc. cit.*

[5] Pathak, "Kendur Plates of Kirtivarman II, s.s. 672," *E. I.*, IX, p. 205.

[6] Bhandarkar, "Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa I, s.s. 793," *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 252.

[7] As late as A.D. 722 Kaira was included within the Maitraka kingdom (cf. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 335; Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 93 and 94). The Maitrakas surrendered, besides, their dominions between the Sahya and the Vindhya mountains.

must have some time after A.D. 733, the year of Vikramāditya's accession,[1] changed hands as a result of the Chālukyan victory.[2] Following the example of his grandfather the Chālukya sovereign confirmed his kinsman Avanijanāśraya Satyāśraya Pulikeśin,[3] (youngest) son of Jayasiṁha, in the government of southern Gujarāt.

A greater calamity was the formidable invasion of the Arabs, arranged according to Biladuri, the Arab historian, by Junaid during the Caliphate of Hasham, A.D. 724-743.[4] This must have occurred somewhere in A.D. 735, for the Gurjara records clearly refer to this expedition in Chedi Saṁvat 486 or A.D. 735-736.[5] Biladuri relates that Junaid sent officers to reduce, among others, " Marmad Mandal, Dahnaj and Barus," and that " he sent a force against Uzain and also sent Habib, son of Marra, against the country of Maliba. They made incursions against Uzain, and they attacked Baharimad and burnt its suburbs. Junaid conquered al Bailamán and Jurz, and he received at his abode in addition to what his visitors presented to him, forty millions, and he himself carried off a similar sum."[6] The places mentioned here are indeed corrupted beyond recognition, and we have, therefore, to thank Dr. R. C. Majumdar for his ingenuity in restoring them to their original form: " Marmad is the same as Maru-māda which is referred to in the Ghaṭiālā inscription of Kakkuka and includes Jaisalmar and part of Jodhapur State. Barus is undoubtedly Broach and Mandal probably denotes Mandor. . . . Jurz was the Arabic corruption of the Gurjara country, and Bailaman probably refers to the circle of states mentioned in our inscription as Vāllā-Maṇḍala. It would thus appear that the Arab army under Junaid conquered the main Gurjara states in the north as well as the feudatory state of Broach in the south."[7]

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[1] Indra I himself seems to have come to the throne in A.D. 730; cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūtas*, p. 10.

[2] A passage in the Kāvi plates of Gurjara Jayabhaṭṭa III, as translated by Bühler, " The Inscriptions from Kāvi," *I. A.*, V, pp. 114-115, which reads, " who by the edge of his sword quieted in battle the impetuosity of the lord of Valabhī " could have been most appropriately adduced in support of our inference, if it had not been found that the interpretation given by Bühler was wrong. Cf. Acharya, " A grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭṭa III," *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 154, note 1.

[3] Acharya, " Pulikesi Jayāśraya's Navasari Plates," *op. cit.* No. 106; *Vie. Ori. Conf. Rept. Aryan Sect.*, p. 230; *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. I, p. 109.

[4] Majumdar, *op. cit*, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 93; Elliot, however, says that Junaid was succeeded by Tamin about A.D. 726 (cf. Elliot, *History of India*, I., p. 126 (Futu-hu-l-Balda'n) from which Dr. Majumdar concludes that " the expeditions were undertaken shortly after A.D. 724," though he doubts about the exact year when Tamin succeeded Junaid.

[5] Acharya, *op. cit.*, II, No. 119; Acharya, " A Grant of the Gurjara king Jayabhaṭṭa: (Kalachuri) year 486," *E. I.*, XXIII, p. 147 ff.

[6] Elliot, *op. et loc. cit;* cf. Muhammad Umar (Kokil), " The Gujarāt-Muslim relations before the eleventh century," *Forbes Traimasik*, III, p. 25 ff.

[7] Majumdar, *op. et loc. cit.*

A more comprehensive account, however, is met with in the afore-named Navsāri plates of Pulikeśin.[1] The Tajjikas, that is to say the Arabs, are here described as having first destroyed the Saindhava, Kacchela, Surāṣṭra, Cāvōṭaka, Maurya, and Gurjara kings, and then to have proceeded against the Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan intent on conquering the southern kings. In the face of this common peril, the Hindu powers of western India seem to have sunk their differences and offered a united front to the enemy. In his records of A.D. 736 Jayabhaṭṭa IV, the Gurjara ruler of Broach, boasts that he was "the very cloud (in the form of) Jayabhaṭṭa who has forcibly extinguished the fire (in the state) of Tajjikas who had caused plenty of suffering to numerous people, in the city of the Lord of Valabhī with the water of the edge of his sword."[2] But the Hindu resistance proved futile till at Navasāri the confederate army was reinforced by the Chālukya troops under prince Pulikeśi; who routed the Tajikas, and won from a grateful sovereign the epithets of "Dakṣiṇāpatha Svādhāraṇa" or solid pillar of Dakshiṇāpatha or the Deccan and "Aṁvarta Kanivartayitr" or Repeller of the Unrepellable.[3]

It is thus clear that along with other states in the north-west, the Maitraka kingdom was also wrecked by the invaders, and confusion reigned therein for the next two decades, when the scattered remnants of this principality were put together by Śīlāditya V.[4]

The *dūtaka* of the grant was prince Śīlāditya who was probably the same *Śīlāditya V* who succeeded this king. Another officer, the writer of his grant was Gillaka, the son of Buddhabhaṭa. He was also a Balādhikṛta.

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1 Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Bühler, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-5. (Kāvi-plates), Acharya, "A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhaṭṭa III: year 486," *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 151, 154, notes 7 and 1 respectively. The line as corrected by Dr. Chakravarti is: "Prasabhaṁ Valabhī-pateḥ pure yō (ye) n=āśesha-lōka-saṁ (tāpa)-kalāpa-da-Tajjik-analaḥ Ja(ya)bhaṭa-Jalda esha sa(ḥ)."|| Dr. Chakravarti remarks that "there could not have been any reference to a fight with the Lord of Valabhī in the fragmentary Kāvi Plate of Jayabhaṭṭa III (K. 486) as suggested by Bühler and adopted in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I,—On the other hand, it appears that the latter came to Valabhī to help its ruler in fighting the Tajjikas or the Arab invaders who were the common enemies of all the rulers of western India."

3 *Vienna Ori. Conf. Rept. Aryan Sect.*, p. 230; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 106; *Bhandarkar's No.* 1220; *Bom. Gaz.*, *op. et loc. cit.;* Majumdar, *op. et loc. cit.*, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 93; Bhandarkar, "*Slow Progress of Islam Powers in Ancient India,*" *A. B. O. I.*, X, pp. 31-32.

4 Two copper-plate grants of this king are known to us; both are dated V.S. 403 (i.e., A.D. 722). The donees of both the grants were Brāhmaṇas. They were Rgvedins and belonged to the Gārgya-gotra. The genealogy recorded in these grants is a bit different from that of the other grants. Here Dhruvasena III is described as Dharasena III's son. This is probably due to the writer's mistake, as it differs from a large number of other records of the line which give a different genealogy.—Mandlik, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 335.

CHAPTER XIX

SILADITYA V

(A.D. 740-762)

When the stirring events mentioned in the last chapter were taking place, two royal houses were slowly laying the foundations of their power in central India. They were the Gurjara-Pratīhāras[1] and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The former had before the invasion of the Tajjikas wrested the province of Mālavā from the Maitrakas who had held it for more than a century. The origin of this dynasty is still obscure. While it was agreed on all hands that Mahodaya or Kanauj became their capital from the time of Bhōja I onwards, nothing was known until recently as to where they were ruling before they came to Kanauj, and it was a mere surmise when Vincent Smith sought to connect them with Bhilmal or Bhinamāl in Rajputānā.[2] However, on the strength of a verse from the *Harivaṁśa* which describes Vatsarāja, the Gurjara Pratihāra, as the monarch of Avantī (Ujjain) in A.D. 784,[3] when Jinasena wrote his book, it has been concluded that Mālavā was their home province.[4] This is said to be confirmed by the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa which aver that, when Dantidurga (A.D. 745-756) performed the ceremony of Hiraṇyagarbha at Ujjain, " the Gurjara lord and others were made door-keepers."[5]

When did the Gurjara-Pratihāras come by this province? Nāgabhaṭṭa, the founder of this royal line, is represented as having defeated the Mlenchchha army—a description which agrees perfectly with the statement of Biladuri, who in this connection merely says that the Ārabs " made incursions against Ujjain," whereas in connection with others he uses the words conquered or defeated.[6] From these circumstances the inference[7] is justified that Mālavā had been constituted into a separate kingdom under the Gurjara-Pratihāras some time before this invasion of the Tajjikas. It may here be observed that in the comprehensive list of the states destroyed by the latter the Navasāri

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1 *Appendix F.*

2 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 378; Ghosh, " Early Capital of the Gurjara Pratihāras of Mahodaya," *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 753 ff.

3 Cf. Pathak " A passage in the *Harivaṁśa* relating to the Gurjaras " *I. A.* XV, p. 141; Majumdar, " The Gurjara-Pratīhāras," *Journal of the Department of Letters*, X, pp. 22 ff.

शाकेष्वदशतेशु सप्तसु दिशं पंचोत्तेरषूत्तरं (रां) पातींद्रायुधनाम्नि (म्नि) कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवति (न्ति) भूभृति नृपे वत्साविराजे (जे) परां सौर्याणामधिमंडलं जययुते वीरे वराडे (हे) वनि (ति)॥५२॥

4 Majumdar, " The Gwalior Praśasti of the Gurjara-Pratihāra King Bhoja," *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 102.

5 Bhandarkar, " Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarṣa, Ś.s. 793," *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 252 ff.

6 *Ibid*, p. 101; Sten Konow, " Hansot Plates of Chahamana Bhartrivaddha," *E. I.*, XII, p. 200.

7 Elliot, *History of India*, I, p. 126; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 102.

plates of Pulakeśin-Jayaśraya, above referred to, do not include Avantī, while they specifically mention Surāṣṭra in which Valabhī is situated. However, in the absence of any historical data, we may only hazard the guess that the province perhaps passed to the Gurjara Pratihāras as a result of the defeat of the Maitrakas by the Chālukyas. Dr. Altekar has advanced the view that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra I joined this campaign as one of the feudatories of the Chālukya king.[1] We may not be far too wrong, if we suggest that Nāgabhaṭṭa also co-operated with the latter by causing a diversion from the north or north-east, if Bhinamāla is taken to be his original seat of government.[2] In the Gwalior *Praśasti* of Bhōjadeva, one of Nāgabhaṭṭa's descendants, he is spoken of as having overwhelmed the Saindhavas. The latter were the feudatories of the Maitrakas, who may have on this occasion charged them with the defence of the northern frontiers.[3]

The Rāṣṭrakūṭas were the only power that had been left untouched by the invasions of the Tajjikas. To the Chālukya empire already exhausted by the age-long warfare with the Pallavas, the Tajjika invasion was indeed the last straw. Furthermore, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were fortunate in their king Dantidūrga, a great leader "gifted with political insight and possessed of great organising capacity."[4] He was quick to exploit the weakness of his neighbours including that of his overlord. He defeated the Chālukya Kirtivarman II "without taking up," as the Samangad plates put it, "his polished weapon; unawares, without any inward concentration of his thoughts (?), and without any effort,—by simply knitting his brows, he straightaway conquered Vaḷḷabha with a spike of wild rice that served him as a mace, and acquired the condition

1 Altekar, *op. cit*, p. 32.

2 Hiuen Tsiang who visited India towards the middle of the seventh century speaks of a Gurjara kingdom which roughly included part of northern Gujarāt and south of Rajputānā with its capital at Pi-lo-molo, which has been identified with Bhilmāl or Bhinamāla. Nāgabhaṭṭa may have carved for himself a kingdom round about this ancient seat of the Gurjaras, while the latter ruled from Mandor, *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1907-1908, pp. 40-41.

3 Cf. Altekar, "Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli," *E. I.*, XXVI, p. 186; *A. R. A. S. I.*, 1903-1904, p. 281. This fact, however, is not recorded in the same inscription as edited by Majumdar, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 111. Puṣyadeva, the founder of this dynasty, was probably an emigrant from Sindh so that though he himself traced his descent to the Jayadrathavaṁśa, he was known to the people he came to live with as a Saindhava, or as he would have been called to-day a Sindhi. He began his career as a military leader and ended by founding a dynasty. He and his descendants styled themselves "apara-Surāṣṭra-maṇḍala-maṇḍana"—an epithet which shows that their sphere of influence was confined to Kāṭhiāwāḍ. Being a coastal power the Maitrakas had quickly realized the need and uses of a navy, and the *A. M. M. K.*, refers to this arm in connection with a Valabhī king. (Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, pp. 24-25.) It is possible that Puṣyadeva began as an admiral of the Maitraka fleet and the family eventually developed considerable naval strength which justified their second title 'apara-samudrādhipati,' or masters of the Western Ocean. Their capital was Bhūtāmbilika or modern Gumli, where they ruled from c. A.D. 740 to 920 (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 186).

4 Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

of being the supreme king of kings and the supreme lord. Even with but a few dependents, possessed of chariots and horses which were not to be conquered, he quickly overcame the boundless army of the Karṇāṭaka which had been expert in defeating the lord of Kañchī and the king of Kerala and the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas and Śrī-Harṣa and Vajraṭa."[1] The whole of Mahārāṣṭra now lay at his feet, as places mentioned in these plates would amply testify. Shortly before this he had taken the country between the Mahī and the Revā, by storm.[2] This was the old Gurjara kingdom of Broach or Nandipuri: it had remained loyal to the Chālukyas till the very end. Dantidūrga made it over to the charge of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭṭa who had in the meanwhile accepted his overlordship.[3] It will be remembered that the latter had acted as door-keeper at his capital Ujjain when Dantidurga performed there the Hiraṇagarbha ceremony—a post of honour, reserved at the time we are speaking of, to the most trusted feudatories.[4] Over southern Gujarāt Kakka II, his kinsman was possibly appointed in the capacity of a governor.[5]

Śīlāditya V had in the meanwhile restored his authority in Surāṣṭra, the original kingdom. In v.s. 441 (i.e., c. A.D. 760) we find him embarked on an enterprise against some neighbouring power, in the course of which he fixed his camp at Gōdraka,[6] probably the present Godhrā in the Pañchamahāl district. Now the direction of this place which is situated to the north-east of Valabhī shows, if anything, that the Maitraka forces were proceeding towards Mālavā. It is likely that Śīlāditya was then endeavouring to retrieve this province from its usurper Nāgabhaṭṭa. Though he failed in his attempts to dislodge the latter, the expedition was nevertheless a success inasmuch as he was able to recover the Kheṭaka-āhāra from its present occupant.[7]

Before the close of his reign, however, Śīlāditya had to repel another invasion of the Tajjikas. In c. A.D. 760 Hasham, the governor of Sindh, sent " Amrū bin Jamāl with a fleet of barks to the coast of Barada,"[8] which seems

1 Fleet, " Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, XI, p. 114.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Bhandarkar, " Buchkala Inscription of Nāgabhaṭṭa Sam. 872," *E. I.*, IX, p. 198 ff. Nāgabhaṭṭa in his turn appointed Bhartrivaḍḍa II of the Chahamana family, as his feudatory in the erstwhile principality of the Gurjaras. Cf. Sten Konow, " Hansot Plates of Chahaman Bhartrivaḍḍa," *E. I.*, XII, p. 204.

4 Ghosh (cf. *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 754) thinks that acting in this capacity was more a dishonour than anything else. But it should not be forgotten that Harṣa reserved these posts to his most faithful allies and friends Bhāskaravarman of Assam and his son-in-law and feudatory Dhruvasena II, at the quinquennial assembly held at Prayāga. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

5 Cf. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 40; Bhagwanlal Indraji, " New Copper-plate Grants of the Rāṣṭrakuta Dynasty," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XVII, p. 106.

6 Bühler, "Lūnavadā Plates of Śīlāditya, VI." *I. A.*, VI, p. 16; Acharya *op. cit.*, No. 95.

7 The villages granted in the Aliṇā plates of the next ruler Śīlāditya VI are all in the Kaira district; cf. Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 189; Buhler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 79 ff.

8 Elliot, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444; Muhammad Umar (Kokil), *op. cit.*, p. 25 ff.

to be the present village of Bardia, ten miles to the north-west of Porbandar.[1] Since the Arab historians, who hardly miss an opportunity of singing their victories, have bestowed on it merely a passing notice, it must have been easily beaten off. The brunt of this attack was borne by the Saindhava feudatory Agguka, who with his flotilla probably became the hero of the war. Agguka, we are told "showed the greatness of Varāha when he easily rescued his country, which was being drowned in an ocean of naval force sent by powerful enemies."[2]

The *dūtaka* of this king was Śrī Jajju whose titles are not legible in the only known grant of Śīlāditya. The writer was one Śaśigupta whose titles are not mentioned in their record.

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1 Altekar, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, XXVI, p. 190

2 *Ibid*, p. 190 (lines 4-5).

CHAPTER XX

SILADITYA VI

(A.D. 762-C. 776)

Śilāditya VI[1] succeeded to the throne of Valabhī in c. A.D. 762. Like his father he is accorded, in his Alinā grant of v.s. 447 (i.e., A.D. 766), all the imperial titles of his family: Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara.[2] This circumstance is enough to show that, though their kingdom had suffered a contraction the Maitrakas had not as yet bowed to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In fact, issued as it is from his victorious camp of Ānandapura (modern Vaḍnagar) the inscription under reference proves on the contrary that Śilāditya was ever intent on conquest.[3] It is likely that the war with the Gurjara-Pratihāras, started in the last reign, had been protracted, and it was in the course of one of the expeditions connected therewith that Śilāditya encamped at Ānandapura. Clearly, the Maitrakas had taken full advantage of the confusion reigning in the northern parts of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire, thanks to the clash between Karka II, their governor of Gujarāt who was developing imperial ambitions, and the new Rāṣṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛṣṇa I, consequent on the latter's murder of Dantidurga.[4] The Maitrakas may even have allied themselves with the neighbouring rulers like the Abhiras and the Gurjaras of Mandor, to both of whom the rising Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty was alike a menace. Nāgabhaṭṭa had long died and had been succeeded by his nephew Kakkuka or Kākustha, and he in turn by his brother Devarāja. Now we know it for a fact that the former was defeated by the Abhiras, who infested the environs of Jodhapur[5] and the latter by Śiluka, the king of the Gurjaras of Mandor.[6]

Surāṣṭra was again invaded by the Tajjikas (Arabs) in A.H. 159 (c. A.D. 776).[7] This time they seem to have come in force.[8] For unlike the previous occasion the township of Bārada easily fell to them. But sickness broke out

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1 The Hansot grant of Bhartṛvaddha II (*op. et loc. cit.*) states that his father was Dhruvabhaṭṭa. We also know that this king Śilāditya was called by this name; from this Dr. Sten Konow has inferred that the king Śilāditya may have been related to him from his mother's side, possibly the latter was his maternal grandfather. However, in the absence of any reliable evidence we cannot say with certainty whether this relationship existed.

2 Fleet, "The Aliṇā Copper-plates Inscription of Śilāditya VII." *C. I. I.*, III, p. 189.

3 *Ibid.* p. 170.

4 Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 42.

5 *A. S. I.*, 1906-1907, p. 42; Vallee Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

6 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 103; Vallee Pousin, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 120.

7 Cf. Elliot, *op. cit.*, II, p. 245 ff; Kokil, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

8 This fleet brought the well-known Muslim author Rabia-bin-Sabih with it.

in their camp and "swept away a great portion of the troops." "And the rest," we are told, "on their return, were shipwrecked on the coast of Persia." "So that" concludes the annalist, "the Khalif Mahdī was deterred from any further attempts upon India."[1]

Śīlāditya VI is the last known Maitraka king with whom this illustrious line becomes extinct. The exact date of the event, however, is still undetermined. In the Jaina authorities it is variously stated to have taken place in Vik. S. 375 (A.D. 319),[2] Vik. S. 475 (i.e., A.D. 419)[3], Vik. S. 573 (i.e., A.D. 517),[4] and Vik. S. 845 (i.e., A.D. 789).[5] But the first three dates are clearly out of question. The last date is given by Jaina Prabhavasūri and seems to come closer to the truth. Nevertheless, this too is unacceptable; for it is now an established fact that the kingdom was no longer existing when in A.D. 783[6] Jainasena wrote his Jaina *Harivaṁśa*. In a well-known passage in the latter work this writer tells us that it "was finished in Śaka Saṁvat 705 (expired), =A.D. 783, when there were reigning,—in various directions determined with reference to a town named Vardhamānapura, which is to be identified with modern Wadhawāna in the Jhālavāḍ division of Kāṭhiāwāḍ—in the north, Indrayuḍha; in the south, Śrīvallabha; in the east, Vatsarāja, king of Avantī

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1 Elliot, *op. cit.*, I, p. 444. An echo of this invasion and the havoc caused thereby is to be found in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* of Jinaprabhasūri, in which it is related that the Mlencha armies under Hammir invaded and destroyed Valabhī and in consequence the Hindu and the Jaina statuary had to be removed to Śrīmāla. The *Tappagachchha-Paṭṭāvali* by Vijayasūri again refers to the three invasions of the Tajjikas, but it misnames them as "Turkas of Ghazani." The author evidently confused them with the Ghaznavids, as he wrote in a later period, when the havoc caused by the latter was fresh in his mind.

2 Jinavijayaji, *Purātan Prabandha Saṅgraha*, 192; the same date is also given by Tod *Western India*, p. 506.

3 Merutunga, *Prabandhachintāmani*.

4 Rajasekharasūri, *Prabandhakōśa*, Ch. VII, śloka 66.

5 Jinaprabhavasūri, *Vividhatirthakalpa*, p. 29.

6 Recently attempts have been made somehow to bring the Jaina dates of the fall of Valabhī closer to those of the Arab raid (in A.D. 776) and of the last known record of the last Valabhī king Śīlāditya (A.D. 766). It is argued that the year 375 of *the Prabandhakōśa* may be a mistake for 475, the year given by the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* (the year as read by Muni Jinavijayaji is 573, but it can also be read as 375). This may be of the Gupta-Valabhī era instead of the Vikrama era given in these works. Accordingly, we get (475+319) c. A.D. 794 as the year of the fall of Valabhī. Similarly, the year 477 of the *Śatruñjaya Mahātmya* is also taken to be of the Gupta-Valabhī era which makes (477+319) c. A.D. 798 the date of the fall of the city. Further, the year 845 of the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* is taken to be of the Vikrama era which places the event in c. A.D. 789. But, as we have seen above, the fall of Valabhī took place prior to A.D. 783, i.e., about ten to fifteen years earlier than any of these three dates (A.D. 794, 789 and 798).

(Ujjain); and in the west, Varāha or Jayavarāha, in the territory of the Sauryas."[1]

The circumstances under which the Maitrakas were overthrown are nowhere mentioned save in the legendary accounts which connect the event with the Tajjika invasions. One such legend was related to Alberuni when he visited India, and is reported by him in his fascinating account of our country: "A man of the rank of a Siddha asked a herdsman with reference to a plant called Thohar, of the species of the Lactaria, from which milk flows when they are torn off, whether he had ever seen Lactaria from which blood flows instead of milk. When the herdsman declared he had, he gave him some drink-money that he should show it to him, which he did. When the man now saw the plant, he set fire to it, and threw the dog of the herdsman into the flame. Enraged thereby, the herdsman caught the man, and did with the same as he had done to his dog. Then he waited till the fire was extinguished, and found both the man and the dog, but turned into gold. He took the dog with him, but left the man on the spot.

"Now some peasant happened to find it. He cut off a finger, and went to a fruit-seller who was called Raṅka, i.e., the poor, because he was an utter pauper, and evidently near bankruptcy. After the peasant had bought from him what he wanted, he returned to the golden man, and then he found that in the place where the cut off finger had been, a new finger had grown. He cut off a second time, and bought again from the same fruit-seller all that he wanted. But when the fruit-seller asked him whence he had the finger, he was stupid enough to tell him. So Raṅka went out to the body of the Siddha, and brought it on a carriage to his house. He stayed in his old abode, but managed by degrees to buy the whole town. The king Vallabha desired to own the same town, and asked him to cede it to him for money, but Raṅka declined. Being, however, afraid of the king's resentment, he fled to the lord of Almansūra, made him presents of money, and asked him to help him by a naval force.

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[1] Majumdar, *op. cit.*, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 102.

शाकेष्वब्दशतेषु सप्तसुदिशं पंचोत्तरेषूत्तरं (रां)
पातीन्द्रायुधनान्ति (म्नि) कृष्णनृपजे श्रीवल्लभे दक्षिणां ।
पूर्वां श्रीमदवर्ति (न्ति) भूभृति नृपे वत्सादिराजे (जे) परां
सौर्याणामधिमण्डलं जययुते वीरे वराहे (हे) वनि (ति) ॥५२॥

Cf. Pathak, "A Passage in the Harivaṁsa relating to the Guptas," *I. A.*, XV, p. 141.

Dr. Bhandarkar has withdrawn his objection to the reading and interpretation of this passage by Dr. Fleet in editing the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarṣa, *E. I.*, XVIII, p. 239. Dr. Bhandarkar had proposed to separate Vatsarāja from the king of Avanti. Contra. Ghosh, *I. H. Q.*, VII, p. 753. It is now idle to press this point.

The lord of Almansūra complied with his desire, and assisted him. So he made a night attack upon the king Vallabha, and killed him and his people, and destroyed his town."[1]

It will be seen from this account that the fall of Valabhī was associated in men's minds with the repeated incursions of the Tajjikas, which must have eventually brought about its end by thoroughly exhausting its resources.[2]

As a fitting epitaph of this dynasty we may here cite the description of the last ruler Śīlāditya VI, as given in his Aliṇā plates, a description in which the noblest qualities of the kings of this line are crystallized, qualities which made the period of their rule an era of prosperity to the country over which they swayed their sceptre: " the glorious Dhruvabhaṭa,[3] born in a lineage of supreme kings of kings and supreme lords, (and) possessed of great happiness—who is renowned for an abundance of heroism that is hard to be resisted; who is the abode of the goddess of fortune; who has striven to destroy hell; who has made it (his) sole resolve to save the earth; whose fame is as pure as the rays of the full-moon;—who is full of virtue through his knowledge of the three (vedas) who has conquered the ranks of (his) enemies; who is possessed of happiness . . . ; who always confers happiness; who is the abode of knowledge; who is a protector of the world, whom all people applaud; who is attended by learned men; who is praised far and wide on the earth;—who is resplendent with jewels; who has a beautiful person, who is a very pile of

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1 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, pp. 192-193.

2 Tod relates in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 258 what befell the Valabhī queen after she had escaped the sack of Valabhī. According to his account she was the daughter of the Paramāra prince of Chandrāvati (history of this dynasty is very little known, except the account given in the Someśvara *praśasti* which mentions its existence). It is said of her that she had been to pilgrimage when the city was wrecked by the foreigners. She took refuge in a cave in the mountain of Malia where she gave birth to a son. Before committing Sati, she confided the infant to a Brahmaṇa lady named Kamalāvati who was staying at Birnagar, charging her with the upbringing of the young prince, who was to be educated as a Brahmaṇa but to be married to a Rajput lady. The legend further says that from this boy the Guhil dynasty of Mewār sprang up. This, however, is far from the truth, as has already been seen in a previous chapter. On the authority of Baxi, *Safar Nama Ye Suleman*, Prof. Nadvi (Ahmadabad) believes that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were responsible for the Maitraka downfall. The enemy troops, according to him, consisted chiefly of Muslims, and hence the tradition that Valabhī was destroyed by the Mlenchas. On the other hand, Mr. Mahipat Ram Ruparam, in his historical novel, *Vanarāj Chāvadā*, conjectures that the fall of Valabhī was brought about by the Gurjaras of the Panjab. But this is merely a figment of the mind of the novelist and nothing more.

3 That he was also called Śīlāditya is known from the same record.

jewels that are virtuous qualities; who is endowed with the choicest virtues of lordship and prowess; . . . whose great prowess is sung over the (whole) earth."[1]

On the fall of the Maitrakas their viceroys at Vāmanasthali and Girinagar became independent and established their own dynasties.[2]

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[1] Fleet, *op. cit., C. I. I.*, III, p. 189. Soddhala in his *Udayasundari kathā* (A.D. 1026) while tracing his descent from Kālāditya, the brother of Śīlāditya (VI) of Valabhī says that the latter prevailed against his enemies save Dharmapāla, the lord of the North (Uttarāpatha). The conflict of Śīlāditya with Dharmapāla mentioned here need not be taken seriously. The clash between Vatsarāja of the Gurjara-Pratihāra and Dharmapāla took place after A.D. 783. If, however, evidence be forthcoming to substantiate this alleged conflict between Dharmapāla and Śīlāditya, this will presuppose an alliance between Vatsarāja and the latter in the course of which Śīlāditya marched out of his kingdom across Mālavā to meet Dharmapāla on whom Vatsarāja had declared war. Cf. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 55 ff.

[2] Altekar, "The Solanki Dynasty at Junagaḍha," *Ancient Cities and Towns in Gujurāt Kāṭhiāwāḍ*, p. 41; Śāstri, *Gujaratnā Itihāsic Sādhanā*, p. 190; Watson, "Legends of the Earlier Chudāsamā of Junāgaḍha," *I. A.*, II, 312. There is a Jaina legend connected with the fall of Valabhī: according to it a sage Dhoondulee Mull "came with a single disciple to Wullubheepoor. The holy man made his residence at the foot of the hill called Eshālwa, near Chamārdee, a spot which was at that time in the very outskirts of Wullubhee. The disciple went into the city to seek alms, but received none; he then cut wood in the jungle, which he took into the city and sold, and thus procuring money, purchased flour. No one, however, would make it into bread for him, until at last a potter's wife performed this service. After several days had passed on in this manner, the hair on the disciple's head began to be worn away, from this continually carrying loads. The sage asked the reason, and received for answer, 'Mighty Sovereign! in this city there is no one who gives alms, I am, therefore, compelled to cut wood and sell it, and a potter's wife makes bread for me—in the labour my hair is worn away.' The holy man said, 'I will myself go to-day to beg.' He did so, but with the exception of the potter's wife no one gave alms. The saint became very angry; he sent his disciple to tell the potter, 'Take your family with you and leave the city. The very day it shall be overwhelmed' . . . the saint having taken into his hands an earthen vessel, reserved it, pronouncing the words,—'city! be you overthrown, and thy wealth turned into dust,' (Paṭṭan sō daṭṭan). In the moment Wullubhee was destroyed." Rawlinson, *Forbes' Rās Mālā*, I, pp. 17-18. The truth in this legend has been doubted; for as Mr. Parakhi has observed in his work on Gujerāt history in Marāthi (*Gurjara Desāchā Itihāsa*, p. 14), "the kings and people of Valabhī were liberal and charitable," an observation which is also borne out by the Valabhi records.

One more tradition (mentioned in the *Purātana-Prabandha Sangraha*, para 193) makes the Mlenchhas responsible for the fall of Valabhī. It further condemns the extremely greedy nature of its subjects which resulted in their indifference to religious duties like Agnihotras. The fact that a poor Brāhmaṇa who had asked his wife to beg some ghee for the Agnihotra ceremony and was given urine of an ass instead is given there as an instance in point. In the belief that it was pure ghee, the Brāhmaṇa used it in the ceremony and was surprised to find gold at the place of the hotra. From this habit of using ass's urine in the place of ghee with the desire of getting gold, the greed for gold took possession of these people, and they refrained from offering sacrifices with the result that they were defeated by the Mlenchhas, since they were not backed up by the spiritual force of religion. (Cf. Rājaśekharasūri, *Purātana Prabandha Sangraha*, para 193 ff., edited by Jinavijayaji.)

CHAPTER XXI

THE VALABHI ERA

Curiously enough the Maitraka kings, in dating their documents, did not make use of the name by which the era in which they lived and prospered, is known to us to-day and which is now closely associated with their rule. They contented themselves with giving the bare Saṁvat or year of the inscription. The reason for this seems to be shrouded in mystery and forms the subject-matter of an interesting controversy among present-day scholars. Indeed, it has been doubted whether the Maitrakas of Valabhī had anything to do with the institution of this era at all.

The earliest known of their grants bears the date Saṁvat 183,[1] and was issued by king Drōṇasiṁha, who was the third in succession but the first *de jure* ruler of that line. The last, dated 477,[2] belongs to king Śīlāditya VI (VII), who was probably also the last of the Maitrakas. From these copper-plate grants themselves it is not possible to say whether the era was something totally new of their own creation or one already in existence at the time of their assumption of sway over Valabhī. The most important and definite sources of information for ascertaining the initial year of the Valabhī era are the two inscriptions found at Verāwal, in Kāṭhiāwāḍ, dated respectively in the years 927 and 945 of the Valabhī Saṁvat.[3] The second of these is also dated according to three other well-established eras, giving three different dates equivalent to the Valabhī Saṁvat 945. These years are, the Hijari 662, the Vikrama 1320, and the Siṁha 151.[4] From a comparison of these dates it is clear that the Valabhī era comes 375 years later than the well-known Vikrama era, or in other words, it commenced in the 375th year of the Vikrama Saṁvat, i.e., in about A.D. 319, and was still in current usage during the thirteenth century of the Christian era, at least in this part of India.[5]

Assuming that the Valabhī era and the era mentioned in the Maitraka grants are the same, it would follow that the Maitraka dynasty started on its career about 183 years after its commencement. For, although Bhaṭārka,

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1 Barnett, " Bhāmodra Mohota Plate of Valabhī king Drōṇasiṁha," *E. I.*, XVI, p. 18 ff; Jackson, " A Valabhī Grant of the year 183," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, p. 1 ff; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 16.

2 Fleet, " The Aliṇā Copper-plates of king Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 182 ff; Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 79; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 96.

3 Hultzsch, " A Grant of Arjunadeva of Gujarāt dated 1264," *I. A.*, XI, pp. 241-45; Kielhorn, " The Verāwal Image Inscription," *E. I.*, III, p. 303 ff.

4 *Ibid.*

5 The date in the Verāwal inscription of v.s. 927 is given as: " Srimad-Valabhi-Sa(ṁ)vat 927 varshe Phalguna su di 2 Saume." This gives ' Valabhi Saṁvat 927, current; the month Phalguna; the bright fortnight; the second solar day of the fortnight and presumably Monday.' If the day is read as Monday, then the corresponding date falls on 19th February A.D. 1246.

the founder of the Maitraka line, established his power at Valabhī some years before this, he and his immediate successor continued to be feudatories of the Guptas, and it is Drōṇasiṁha who was the first independent king and the real founder of the dynasty. The question naturally arises whether the Valabhī era, bearing as it does the name of the capital city of the Maitrakas, originated with its foundation. Indeed, such a suggestion would seem to be justified by the reluctance of the kings to use the name of the era in dating their grants. But both the copper-plate records and the bardic tradition[1] are unanimous in attributing the foundation of the city of Valabhī to Bhaṭārka. Could he or his immediate successor, like him a vassal of the Guptas, have dared to start an era of their own while continuing in their subordinate position? Even if we assume that the capital city existed before Bhaṭārka and his line, there is hardly any evidence worth the name to justify our belief that it had attained a position of pre-eminence sufficient to have an era named after it. Moreover, as we have already noted, the Maitrakas do not specify the era in dating their records. Such a practice of giving the bare date with the name of the era understood could have come into fashion only when a particular era had already become well established in country-wide usage. An instance in point may be cited from our own practice of giving the bare figures ' 1952 ' without naming the words of " the Christian era." The conclusion seems to be inevitable that the Maitrakas may have adopted an era started by some other ruling family and already current in Surāṣṭra at the time when they established their rule.

What was then this era, which was current in Kāṭhiāwāḍ about the last quarter of the fifth century A.D.? The Junāgaḍha rock inscriptions offer a clue to the solution of our problem. One of these inscriptions belongs to the time of the Mahākṣatrapa ruler, Rudradaman, and is dated in the year 72 of the Śaka era.[2] Clearly, then, the Śaka era was current in Kāṭhiāwāḍ during the Kṣatrapa period, i.e., from the second to the fourth century A.D. After this the country passed under the sway of the Guptas, and the inscription of Skandagupta found on the same rock, and dated in G.S. 138, is evidence enough that the Gupta era was current during this period.[3] After the death of Skandagupta the Gupta power over this part of the country declined. It was at this time, as we have seen in the chapters on political history, that Bhaṭārka established a separate dynasty at Valabhī. Now, the last date known to have been recorded by the Guptas in Surāṣṭra is G.S. 138 (i.e., A D. 457) and the earliest known date of the Maitraka kings, given by the Bhāmodar Mōhota plate of Drōṇasiṁha, is 183 (i.e., A.D. 502). The interval of forty-five years between the two dates is long enough to fit in the two predecessors of Drōṇasiṁha, Bhaṭārka and Dharasena I, the latter of whom appears to have ruled only for a few years. Accordingly, we may take it that the era used by the Maitraka

[1] Watson, *op. cit.*, II, p. 313 ff.

[2] Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 15.

kings was the same as that used by their immediate predecessors, a conclusion supported by the fact that the initial year of both the eras was A.D. 319.

We might ask ourselves at this stage why the Gupta era as used by the Maitraka kings came to be called by the Valabhī name in the post-Maitraka period. An answer to this question is attempted by Alberuni in his account of India. During his stay in the country (A.D. 1030) he became acquainted with the different eras current here, and he offers the following remarks regarding them: "People have given up using them (the eras called Kālayavana, Pāṇḍavakāla, Kalikāla, and so on) and have adopted the eras of

(1) Śrī Harṣa
(2) Vikramāditya
(3) Śaka
(4) Valabha, and
(5) Gupta."[1]

A description of each follows, and regarding the Valabhī era with which we are here concerned, he says: "the era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town Valabhī, nearly 30 yojanas south of Aṇhilavāra. The epoch of this era falls 241 years later than the epoch of the Śaka era. People use it in this way. They first put down the year of the Śakakāla, and then subtract from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5 (216 + 25 = 241). The remainder is the year of the Valabha era."[2] And further, comparing it with the Vikrama era, "the epoch of the era of Śaka or Śakakāla falls 135 years later than that of Vikramāditya."[3] He also gives the following formula to ascertain the date according to either era when one of them only is mentioned: "The year 400 of Yazdajird, which we have chosen as a gauge, corresponds to the following years of the Indian eras:—

(1) To the year 1488 of the era of Śrī Harṣa,
(2) To the year 1088 of the era of Vikramāditya,
(3) To the year 953 of the Śakakāla,
(4) To the year 712 of the Valabha era,

which is identical with the Guptakāla."[4] Alberuni, however, accounts for the change of name from Gupta to Valabha with the remark that "the era of Valabha is called so from Valabha, the ruler of the town Valabhī."[5] His explanation, of course, does not appear convincing. For one thing, there has been no king of this name among the Maitrakas. For another, the traitor

[1] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[5] *Ibid.* A correct result may be obtained by taking Śaka Saṁvat 1167 expired.

Raṅka who, according to Alberuni, betrayed "king Valabha" to the Arabs, actually lived, as known from Jaina tradition, during the reign of Śīlāditya. What is not shown anywhere is that Śīlāditya had the appellation of Valabha. Possibly, either Alberuni himself, coming some three centuries after the last king Śīlāditya, or the Hindus from whom he got the tradition made some confusion between the king of Valabhī and 'King Valabha', or it may be that Alberuni arrived at his conclusion by merely arguing on the analogy of the other eras which go for the most part by the name of some tribe or person. To our own mind, the real reason for different names seems to be that though, as pointed out by Dr. Fleet,[1] the two eras were identical for the most part, the Valabhī era was nonetheless, different in so far as it had certain peculiarities of its own.

These peculiarities can be ascertained only from the dates given in the Maitraka records. These records give the year, the month, the fortnight, and the lunar day (*tithi*) as prescribed by the Hindu Dharmaśāstras.[2] The first word 'Saṁ' is an abbreviation of 'Saṁvatsara', i.e., the year; next, the number of the year is given in figures; the comens the name of the month which in all cases, is followed by the name of the fortnight 'Su' in case of 'Sukla-pakṣasya', i.e., bright half, and 'ba' for 'bahula-pakṣasya' in case of the dark half of the month; last of all comes the date (*tithi*) given in figures.[3] These dates, however, do not directly help in ascertaining the local peculiarities and in telling us, for instance, whether the era was current or had expired, whether it was Chaitrādi or Kārtikādi, whether months were *purṇimānta* or *amānta*, i.e., ending with the full moon or the new moon, and so on. We have to find them with the aid of test cases like those of eclipses and the intercalary months that are mentioned in these records. We have in all four such cases. The Bāntia grant of king Dharasena II records a solar eclipse (sūryoparāga) on the new moon day of Vaiśākha in the year 254[4]; the Kaira grant of king Dharasena IV records a second-Mārgaśira[5] (Dvi-Mārga) in the year 330[6]; the Vaḷā grant of king Śīlāditya III records a second Āṣādha in the year 343[7]; and the Jesar grant of the same ruler provides us with a second Pauṣa in the year 357.[8]

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1 Fleet, *op. cit.* (introduction), pp. 72-73.

2 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 837 ff.

3 The week days are not recorded in the Maitraka grants along with the dates, otherwise that would have been an important factor to decide this question.

4 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 44; the year of this plate was first read as 257 by Mr. Diskalkar (*Wat. Mus. Rept.*, 1925-26, p. 13) but is now corrected by Dr. Dikshit as 254, cf. *E. I.*, XXI, p. 179.

5 Intercalation of a month is indicated by the mention of the word 'Dvi', i.e., Dvitīya, before the name of the month.

6 Bühler, "The Kaira grant of Dharasena IV," *I. A.*, XV, p. 335 ff; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 73.

7 Diskalkar, *op. cit.* (N. S.), I, p. 37; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 78.

8 *Ibid.*, No. 92; Bhandarkar, *A. S. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55; Banerji, "The Jesar plates of Siladitya III, Valabhī Saṁvat 357," *E. I.*, XXII, p. 114.

Now, applying the Chaitrādi system of the Gupta era to all these cases, according to the epoch of A.D. 319-20 we might obtain solutions to some of our questions. The years corresponding to 254, 330, 343 and 357 of the Valabhi era will be A.D. 573-4, 649-50, 662-3 and 676-7 respectively. First of all, as we find it recorded in the calendar,[1] a solar eclipse did occur in Vaiśākha of the year A.D. 373, if the months are named according to the Pūrṇimānta system (i.e., ending with the full moon day). Similarly we find Srāvaṇa instead of Āṣāḍha intercalated in A.D. 662. Thus we get a difference of 319 years between the two eras for the two summer months, Vaiśākha and Srāvaṇa. As regards the other two cases, it must be noted that the months Mārgasira and Pauṣa can hardly be intercalated in the present system of true-intercalation, as the lunar months are generally longer than the corresponding solar months in winter. However, any month could be intercalated in the old system of mean-intercalations, as a mean lunar month is shorter than a corresponding mean solar month in all seasons.[2] As the Valabhī grants record the winter months as intercalary, we have to calculate their dates as belonging to the system of mean-intercalation like that found in the Brahma-siddhānta.[3] From such calculations we note that the month Pauṣa and not Mārgasira was intercalated in the year A.D. 648.[4] A similar calculation for the year V.S. 357 brings an intercalary month of Māgha (instead of Pauṣa) in the year A.D. 675 (i.e., 357 + 318) and not in A.D. 676 or 677 (i.e., 357 + 319 or 320). These two cases indicate that in winter the difference between the epoch of the Valabhī era and the Christian era was a period of 318 years instead of 319-320. Our calculations thus give us the intercalary month uniformly one month later than the date of the records in all the three cases. But we would not be justified in rejecting this epoch merely because of this circumstance. In the normal system the intercalary months are named according to the Mīnādi rule so distinguished from the fact that at the beginning of the year in this system the sun stands on the sign of Mīna. The first month is called Chaitra, the second Vaiśākha, and so on,[5] according to the signs occurring at their commencement. Now the old Meṣādi (Aries) rule of Brahmagupta[6] lays down that intercalated months should be named after the preceding and not after succeed-

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1 An assumption that the solar months were of unequal length forms the basis of the doctrine of the Sūrya-Siddhānta which is current at present.

2 The mean system is said to have been in use upto the time of Śrīpati (A.D. 1030), who protested against it in his Siddhānta-Śekhara (cf. Fleet, *op. cit.* (Introduction).

3 Bendall, *A Journey in Nepal and Northern India*, p. 76. In this book Mr. Bendall has given the results of calculation of Dr. Schram (Privat docent fur chronologische Astronomie at the Vienna University) and of Dr. Adams, according to which winter months also intercalated.

4 Sewell, *Indian Calendar*. Being satisfied with this result Dr. Bühler withdrew his objection against the view of accepting the epoch of the Guptas as that of the Valabhī Saṁvat. Bühler, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 335; Pillai, *The Indian Chronology; The Indian Ephemeres.*

5 Pai, "The Gupta and the Valabhī Eras," *J. I. H.*, XII, p. 223.

6 Bhaskaracharya, *Siddhānta Śiromaṇi*, p. 49.

ing natural months,[1] and the Meṣādi signs occur at the beginning of each natural month. This is entirely different in the Mīnādi system where the intercalary months are named after the succeeding months. For instance, when in the Mīnādi system the first Pauṣa is an intercalary[2] month in the Meśādi system, it is the second Mārgasira or the Adhika-Mārgasira.[3] Thus if the latter system be accepted for the Valabhī era all the three intercalary months of the Maitraka records correspond exactly to the intercalary months in the corresponding years A.D. 662, 648 and 675, and the months which are named Pauṣa, Srāvaṇa and Māgha according as they commence in Dhanuṣ, Karka and Makara *rāśis* (Signs) respectively, would be re-named Mārgasira, Āṣāḍha and Pauṣa according as they end in the signs of Dhanuṣ, Karka and Makara.[4]

Next, the difference of one year observed in the cases of the Margasira and Pauṣa month of the Valabhī grants may be explained by shifting the Chaitrādi years of the Gupta Saṁvat into the Kārtikādi years, a system which was then in current usage in Kāṭhiāwāḍ as at present. The commencement of the year may be taken five months earlier than in the Gupta era. Now, as we have seen above, the exact difference between the epoch of the Gupta and that of the Śaka era is 241 years according to Alberuni's account, while according to the Kārtikādi Valabhī era it would be 240 years and 7 months.

We may well ask ourselves how some of the peculiarities native to Surāṣṭra found their way into the working of the Gupta era. As stated by Mr. Sen Gupta, it is possible that before A.D. 499 the Gupta year started with the month Pauṣa,[5] and it was only after this year that the Guptas adopted the system of the Chaitrādi year following Brahmagupta's theory.[6] After this, the difference between the Gupta era and the Christian era from Chaitra to

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1 The order of the twelve *rāśis* is then Meṣa, Vṛṣabha, Mithuna, Karka, Siṁha, Kanyā, Tūla, Vṛśchika, Dhana, Makara, Kumbha and Mīna, and the corresponding months according to the Mesādi system may be named Chaitra, Vaiśākha, Jyeṣṭha, Āsāḍha, Srāvaṇa, Bhādrapada, Āṣvin, Kārtika, Mārgasira, Pauṣa, Māgha, and Fālguna respectively.

2 In the Amānta system (so called because of the months ending with the conjunction of the Sun and the Moon, i.e., with the new moon) the intercalary month precedes the natural month, and so the intercalary month is first and the natural month the second of the two; in the Purṇimānta system without Meṣādi rules the intercalary month interposes itself between the dark and the bright half of the natural month: while in the Purnimanta system with Mesadi rule the first two fortnights make the natural month while the next two an intercalary one.

3 Fleet, *op. cit.* (Introduction), p. 94; Sewell, and Dikshit, *The Indian Calendar*, p. 27; Sewell, *Indian Chronology*, p. 11; Dr. Schram as quoted by Dr. Bühler, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 338.

4 Here it is important to note that great significance is attached by the Dharmaśāstras, to making a grant in an intercalary month. for it is believed that by that practice greater Pūṇya is obtained. Hence the Valabhi grants made in any of the Dvitiya months may have probably been an intercalary according to the Meṣādi system rather than that of the Mīnādi system of naming the intercalary month previous to the natural month.

5 Sen Gupta, "The Gupta Era," *J. R. A. S. B.*, Letters, VIII, p. 41 ff, No. 1 (1942).

6 *Ibid.*

December was 319 years, and that from January to Fālguṇa 320 years.[1] This epoch is not quite applicable to the Valabhī Saṁvat between which and the Christian era, according to the calculation given above, the difference in case of the winter months was 318 and in summer it was 319. The probable reason for this change may be that when in the year A.D. 499 the Gupta era of northern India underwent a change, the Guptas had lost their influence over the Maitraka kings[2] who, possibly did not like to follow their example. In their turn they may have preferred to adopt the system current in Surāṣṭra over which they ruled; and unlike the Guptas they had their capital at the very centre of their dominions instead of at a far off extremity.

The Devāli grant of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda IV made to a Brāhmaṇa of Valabhī, records a solar eclipse in the Valabhī Saṁvat 500.[3] Unfortunately the month, the fortnight and the date of the inscription, which would have been an additional and useful test case to ascertain the epoch of this era, are not deciphered. However, working on the basis of A.D. 318-9 as the initial date of the Valabhī Saṁvat, we do find that a solar eclipse occurred on the Amāvāsyā day in the month of Āṣāḍha, i.e., Purṇimānta Śrāvaṇa Amāvāsyā, on Sunday, 26th of June (500 + 319) A.D. 819.[4] This would strengthen the above theory.[5]

Our conclusions are that the Valabhī era was Kārtikādi and Pūraṇimānta; that the epoch of its year falls in about A.D. 318-9, that a Meṣādi instead of Mīnādi rule was applied in naming its months; that its year commenced earlier than the Chaitrādi year by five months; and lastly that it included a system of mean-intercalation.[6]

Unfortunately, some scholars do not accept the epoch of the Gupta-Valabhī eras even as approximately near or equal to one another. Among the

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[1] In his article on "The Gupta Era," Mr. Sen Gupta has once again proved with the test cases of the Gupta era that it was equal to A.D. 319-20, cf. *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. Chapters on Political History.

[3] Mody, "A Raṣṭrakūṭa Grant of Govinda IV of the Valabhī Saṁ. 500," *Bhāvanagar Samāchār*, Pt. 4, No. 24, p. 3 (December 1944).

[4] From the months Kārtika (i.e., 4th October 818) to December of the year A.D. 818 1st January 319 to 22nd October 819 (i.e., Āśvin) only one solar eclipse had taken place on Sunday the 26th of June 319, which should be taken as the date of issuing this grant according to our data.

[5] Besides this we find about four inscriptions of the ninth and the tenth centuries of the Valabhī era (Bhandarkar's Nos. **1379-82**), but as they give the bare date without any specific reference to the name of the day or the like, none of them help to solve the above question.

[6] In the true system of intercalation "all the years from 1 A.C. down to 2000 A.C. the month of Margaśira never intercalated, save in one and the only one year 1296 A.C., whereas according to the system of mean intercalations, however, there are frequent intercalations of Margaśira, no less frequent than those of the other lunar months." Evidently therefore it is this system that seems to have been adopted in the date of the Valabhī grants. Cf. Pai, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 222.

earliest of them Mr. Thomas tried to apply the Śaka era to the Gupta dates and suggested that the Vikrama era was probably one which would be identical with the Valabhī era of the Maitraka grants.[1] Dr. Bhau Daji and Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar tried to identify the Valabhī era with the Śaka era.[2] But on noticing the chronological inconsistency they changed their view and accepted the theory that the Valabhī era is the same as the Gupta era.[3] On identifying the Valabhī king Dhruvapaṭa mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang, with Śīlāditya VII, Dr. Bühler suggested that the era used by the Valabhī kings commenced shortly before or after the year A.D. 200.[4] Dr. Cunningham who also applied his mind to the subject maintained that the era mentioned in the Valabhī grants commenced in A.D. 166-7.[5] In the year 1888, Dr. Fleet, writing his book on the Gupta Inscriptions, discussed the problem at length and rightly discarded the various theories and gave his decision in favour of Alberuni's statement.[6] We, however, know that some exceptions are still there, and scholars like Dr. Shamasastri,[7] Mr. Pai,[8] Mr. Mookerjee[9] and Mr. Shankar[10] have opposed the views of Dr. Fleet. Dr. Shamasastri advocated the epoch of A.D. 200-1. Mr. Pai assigned A.D. 272-3 as the epoch of the Gupta era and A.D. 334-7 for the Valabhī era; lastly, from the year 1932 onward Mr. Mookerjee would have us accept the year 58 B.C. as the initial year of this era; and he has tried to identify it with the well-known Vikrama era.

According to all these suggestions the initial date of the Valabhī era may vary from 56 B.C. to A.D. 337 and the dates of the Maitraka inscriptions may fall between A.D. 127 and 391 (according to the epoch of 56-7 B.C.), or between A.D. 520 and 784 (according to the epoch of A.D. 334-7). This wide gulf of four centuries can be considerably reduced by taking into account contemporary evidence of the Valabhī period. The account of Hiuen Tsiang who visited India in c. A.D. 640 reveals that the Valabhī kingdom was in its flourishing state at the time of his visit to the court of the Maitraka king Dhruvabhaṭa.[11] This ruler is described by him as a son-in-law of the great

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1 Thomas, *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, I, p. 276; Thomas, "Epoch of the Gupta," *J. R. A. S.*, XIII, p. 524; Thomas, *J. B. A. S.*, XXIV, p. 371.

2 Bhau Daji, *op. cit.*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VII, p. 236; Bhandarkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 72.

3 Bhandarkar, "Correspondence and Miscellanea," *I. A.*, III, p. 303; Bhandarkar *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 97.

4 Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 79.

5 Cunningham, *Book of Indian Eras*, p. x, *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, x, p. 111 ff; Fergusson, *J. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 259.

6 Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, Introduction, pp. 69-95.

7 Shamasastri, *An. Rept. My. Arch. Dept.*, 1923-24, p. 7 ff.

8 Pai, "The Gupta and the Valabhī Eras," *J. I. H.*, XI, Pt. 2, p. 175 ff; XII, pp. 215-40.

9 Mookerjee, "The Genealogy and Chronology of the Early Imperial Guptas," *J. I. H.*, XX, pp. 134-56; XXI, pp. 34-56; Mookerjee, "The Kṛta Era," *I. A.*, XV, p. 335; *A. B. O. R. I.*, XXII, pp. 264-271.

10 Shankar, *N. I. A.*, III, p. 419; *J. I. H.*, XX, p. 71.

11 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246.

Harṣavardhana who ruled in the first half of the seventh century. Then again epigraphical evidence like the copper-plate grants of the Gurjara kings Daḍḍa (A.D. 629-41)[1] and Jayabhaṭṭa IV (c. A.D. 735)[2] support the view that the Valabhī kingdom was in its flourishing state round about the seventh century of the Christian era, and that the Gurjaras and the Maitrakas were contemporaries. For, the Navasāri grant of Jayabhaṭṭa III, dated K.S. 456, i.e., c. A.D. 705, accounts for the glory of Daḍḍa II that was achieved by him " by protecting the lord of Valabhī who had been defeated by the great lord, the illustrious Harṣadeva."[3] This statement clearly indicates that the Valabhi king was a contemporary both of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II (A.D. 629-41) and of king Harṣa of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty. Thus, there seems to be no difficulty in placing this Valabhī king in about the seventh century. The Junagaḍha rock inscription of Rudradaman, also, dated the Śaka year 72, i.e., A.D. 150[4] shows that Suraṣṭra was ruled by the Kṣatrapas in the second century of the Christian era. Likewise, too, the evidence of other sources like the Kṣatrapa coins show that they ruled over this part of the country from Śaka Saṁvat 41 to 310, i.e., A.D. 119-388.[5] The Maitraka kingdom, as seen from their records, also extended from Ānandapura in the north to Kheṭaka and sometimes even upto Bharukachchha in the south, and from the western coast of Kāṭhiāwāḍ in the west, to Ujjain in the east. They could not have ruled over these provinces at the same time and that the Śaka sway prevailed over them. Hence, it is not possible to equate the Maitraka era with the Vikrama era of 56 B.C. Nor can the year A.D. 200-1 be accepted as the initial year of the Valabhī era, inasmuch as it would then assign the year (447 $\pm$ 200) A.D. 647 to the reign of the last king Śīlāditya who must have ruled at least upto A.D. 725 as we are bound to infer from the abovementioned Gurjara grant.[6] Lastly, the inconsistencies to which we expose ourselves, if we accept either the epoch of A.D. 334-7 or that of A.D. 272-3 may be seen by adopting these epochs and examining the astronomical test cases provided by the Valabhī grants. Accordingly, out of the four test cases mentioned above, the year 254 when the solar eclipse occurred would correspond either with A.D. 526-7 or with A.D. 588-91. There was no solar eclipse in A.D. 526-7 in Vaiśākha, according to Mr. Pillai's table. Mr. Shankar, however, notes that there was a solar eclipse in Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha of this year but it was not visible in India. This explanation is not very convincing, as grants were particularly made on the eclipse day to get additional merit as recommended by the Dharmaśāstras,[7] and if the eclipse was not visible in the country the writer of the grant would not have given as much importance to mentioning

1 Bühler, " Inscription from Kāvi," *I. A.*, V, p. 109 ff.
2 Bhagwanlal Indraji, " A New Gurjara Copper-plate Grant," *I. A.*, XIII, p. 70 ff.
3 *Ibid.*
4 Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.*
5 *Cam. Hist. of India*, I, p. 585.
6 Bhagwanlal Indraji, *op. et loc. cit.*
Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 852.

it as he has. As for the years 588, 589, 590 or even 591 (according to Mr. Pai's suggestion of the epoch of 334-7) there was no solar eclipse in Vaiśākha during any of them. Mr. Pai, however, taking the old reading of the grant as 257, gives the date as A.D. 592 when a solar eclipse took place in the Pūrṇimānta Vaiśākha. Next, according to the epoch of A.D. 272-3 corresponding test cases of intercalary months of the V. Saṁ. 330, 343 and 357 did occur in the years 602-3, 615-6 and 629-30 respectively. Lastly, these years 330, 343 and 357 correspond to A.D. 664-7, 667-80 and 690-4 respectively, according to the epoch of A.D. 334-7. The result is a difference of 335, 337-8, 337-8 and 338 years respectively in each of these four cases which is difficult to explain away.

Mr. Mookerjee has raised doubts as to the acceptance of the Valabhi era as given by Alberuni on several grounds.[1] His first objection is that the Dhinki grant[2] dated Vik. S. 794 or A.D. 738 mentions Jaikadeva of Ghumli as the lord of Surāṣṭra, while in fact the Maitraka king Śīlāditya was ruling over this part of the country in A.D. 738 (V.S. 418). In connection with this it should be noted that the Dhinki grant mentioned above has been proved to be a forgery.[3] In fact, the Saindhava family to which king Jaikadeva I and II of the main branch as also king Jaik of the junior branch belonged, seems to have flourished in the sixth century of the Gupta era. And, even supposing that they flourished from Vik. S. 415 to 600, as asserted by Mr. Mookerjee, it is impossible that Jaika's plate may have been dated in Vik. S. 794, as given in the Dhinki grant. Another argument put forth by Mr. Mookerjee is that the king Śīlāditya mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang[4] flourished from c. A.D. 526-76, whereas even the first Śīlāditya of the Maitraka dynasty flourished in the years A.D. 595-615 according to the epoch of A.D. 319-20. Now we know for a fact that king Dhruvasena II, the nephew of Śīlāditya I, was the contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang. This can be reconciled only if we take the epoch of c. A.D. 319-20. As regards the years of Śīlāditya's reign, Hiuen Tsiang gathered his information from the local records only, which may have been erroneous in their exact details. We know, moreover, that the Chinese traveller visited Valabhī in c. A.D. 640 and at that time as he has recorded, about sixty years had passed since Śīlāditya's rule had come to an end. This will take Śīlāditya to the period of about (640-60) c. A.D. 580 which is not very far from fact. Now, taking the Valabhī era to be the same as the Vikrama era (of 56-7 B.C.) the reign of even the last Śīlāditya falls round about A.D. 391 (A.D. 447-56) and not anywhere in the neighbourhood of the period of Hiuen Tsiang's visit. Again, it is evident that the last Śīlāditya cannot be taken into consideration, especially in this instance, as he had no nephew, called Dhruvasena, to succeed him.

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[1] Mookerjee, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Altekar, " Six Saindhava Copper-plate Grants from Ghumli," *E. I.*, XXVI, p. 189 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, Bühler, " Dhinki Grant of king Jaikadeva," *I. A.*, XII, p. 151.

[4] Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

Mr. Mookerjee further argues that Śīlāditya the fifth descendant of Guhadatta of the Gohilot dynasty, flourished in c. Vik. Sam. 703 (A.D. 646); Gohilot, therefore, must have ruled in about Vik. Saṁ. 600 (A.D. 544). Bardic tradition refers to this Guhadatta as a posthumous son of the last king Śīlāditya of Valabhī, who is known to have been ruling in V.S. 447,[1] but could not have been alive in A.D. 766 as would follow if we accept the epoch of c. A.D. 319-20. But the bardic account connecting the Maitrakas with the Gohilots, does not seem to be correct.[2] According to this tradition, on which Mr. Mookerjee's inference is based, the last Śīlāditya should be dated in about A.D. 520, while according to the epoch of Vik. era, his date falls in 447-56 (A.D. 390).

Mr. Mookerjee then takes his ground on the fact that the name of Valabhī was not mentioned in the list of the victims of the Arab raids in the accounts of the seventh or the eighth centuries although its fall is assigned to that period. This statement does not seem to be correct as we find it definitely mentioned in the Jaina works and Arabic records that the two Arabic raids of the years A.D. 760 and 776 were directed against Valabhī.[3]

Further, Mr. Mookerjee points out that the three Kaira grants, one of the Chālukya prince Vijayarāja dated K.S. 394 (c. A.D. 642)[4] and the two of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II dated in K.S. 380 and 385 (A.D. 628 and 633) respectively,[5] were discovered at Kaira while the Kheṭaka Āhara, i.e., the present Kaira district was included in the Valabhī kingdom at least up to V.S. 246, in the sixth century A.D. But a mere findspot of the Gurjara and Chālukya records cannot be taken into account as proof of the fact that that particular part of the country was included in their dominions.[6] As regards the argument of the same scholar that Kaira and Ānandapura were appanages of the Mālavā kingdom in A.D. 640[7] as known from Hiuen Tsiang's account, and not under the sway of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II, it must be noted that the statement made by Hiuen Tsiang himself[8] and confirmed by the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa[9] and the Valabhī epigraph would clearly show that Mālavā itself was part of the Valabhī empire in c. A.D. 640.[10]

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1 Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 79 ff; Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 173 ff; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 96.

2 Cf. Ch. VI of the Political Section; Oza, *op. et loc. cit.*

3 Elliot and Dowson, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 102.

5 *Ibid.*, No. 109; Fleet, *op. cit.*, XIII, p. 82 ff.

6 In fact the villages mentioned in both these inscriptions are clearly out of the limits of the Maitraka kingdom. Though Vijayapura, the victorious camp of Vijayarāja, has not yet been ascertained, nor the village donated, viz., Pariyaya, Jambusara where the recipients lived has been identified with the present Jambusara "almost in a direct line between Kaira and Broach, about 50 miles to the south by east of Kaira, and 25 miles to the north by west of Broach." As for Nandipuri and other places mentioned in the Gurjara grant, they are all in the Broach district.

7 Acharya, *Ibid.*, No. 110; Fleet, *Ibid.*, XIII, p. 88 ff.

8 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

9 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

10 Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.*, Diskalkar, *op. et loc. cit.*

The fact that the Abhonā plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa were issued from Ujjaini in K.S. 347 (A.D. 595)[1] cannot stand as a reasonable objection to the supposition that the Maitraka king Kharagraha's issuing a grant from the place in V.S. 297 (A.D. 616).[2] The interval of about 21 years is quite sufficient for the power over this country to have changed hands. Even if we say that the Kaḷachuris held their sway as long as A.D. 601-610, the Maitraka rulers may easily be taken to have had possession of the same country five years after their disappearance.

Mr. Mookerjee's contention that the absence of any reference to Valabhī, in the contemporary inscriptions of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, excepting in the grants of Jayabhaṭṭa III and Jayabhaṭṭa IV, creates difficulties in the way of accepting the epoch of c. A.D. 319-20 for the Valabhī era is untenable. The references, though few, clearly indicate that the Valabhī kingdom flourished in the sixth, seventh and the eighth centuries A.D. and not in the second, third and the fourth centuries as maintained by him.

As regards the same scholar's argument of tallying dates of the Maitrakas and the Jaina work, the Śatruñjaya-mahātyma, we know that the dates assigned by most of the Jaina works to the events in the history of Valabhī, differ from one another, and hence should not be taken as authentic.[3]

Again, his objection to the epoch of A.D. 319-20 on palæographical grounds does not appear to be of weight. The grants of the Gurjaras, the Chālukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas bore a close resemblance to the grants of the Maitrakas as confirmed by scholars who edited them.

Lastly, Mr. Mookerjee argues that a grant of Dharasena II of the year V.S. 269[4] alludes to a vihāra built by Āchārya Sthiramati during the reign of his father (in G.S. 240), i.e., A.D. 559 according to the A.D. 319-20 epoch, whereas the date of the translation of certain Chinese works done by Sthiramati is accepted to be about A.D. 380.[5] The date of his teacher Vasubandhu is taken to be A.D. 360.[6] This difficulty, however, created by the discrepancy in dates is not solved even if we accept the epoch suggested by Mr. Mookerjee who would take us back to A.D. 182-183 instead of advancing us to the later half of the fourth century.[7]

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1 Pathak, *op. cit.*, IX p. 297 ff.

2 Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.*

3 Cf. Last Chapter on Political History.

4 Bühler *op. cit.*, VI, p. 11 ff.

5 Cf. Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

6 *Ibid.*

7 The expression 'Bappa-pādiya' used in the Valabhī records could not be applied to some religious head as stated by this scholar. It was in all probability used for ancestors of the donors of the Maitraka grants as shown elsewhere.

APPENDIX A

A DISCUSSION OF DR. HOERNLE'S VIEWS

Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, in his article "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History"[1] has put forward the view that king Śīlāditya of Mālavā, described by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang, was the son of Yaśōdharman of the Mandasor Pillar inscription.[2] He avers that Yaśōdharman inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula by A.D. 533 and thus delivered the Gupta empire from a threatening Hūṇic domination by A.D. 533, and that it was—thanks to this victory—that he could assume the title Vikramāditya. This statement of Dr. Hoernle has no foundation in fact. As Professor R. D. Banerji has pointed out, it is not mentioned in any of the three inscriptions[3] of his, nor in any of his coins.[4] It is merely an inference from the fact mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* that Vikramāditya was a king of Mālavā who had a son by name Śīlāditya.[5] However, as Dr. Aurel Stein has repeatedly asserted, "Kalhaṇa's chronicle is absolutely unreliable even about the history of the sixth century, unless corroborated by reliable and independent evidence,"[6] and it must be admitted that there is no such evidence to support our author's contention. But it is above all the Vikramāditya of the *Rājataraṅgini* that is sought to be identified with Yaśōdharman, in spite of the fact that the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* explicitly says that this Vikramāditya was also known as 'Harṣa'.[7] Then as to his theory that it was by virtue of his victory on the Hūṇas that he donned the title, surely had this been the case, would the Mandasor inscription have failed to record it?

Again the course of events narrated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, viz., the dethronement of Śīlāditya and his reinstatement, do not agree with the authentic history of Mālavā, as it has come down to us through the inscriptions. For we know that the later Guptas were in possession of Mālavā long before A.D. 583.[8] We further know that the Kaḷachuris came into possession of Mālavā in or a little before (27th July) A.D. 595,[9]—a circumstance evidenced from the Abhoṇā plates of the Kaḷachuris which were issued from Ujjaini itself.

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1 Hoernle, "Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 545 ff.

2 Fleet, *op. cit.*, *C. I. I.*, III, No. 33, p. 142; No. 34, p. 149; Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions—Mandasor Pillar Inscription of Yaśōdharman," *I. A.*, XV, p. 253. The identity of the Śīlāditya of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* (iii, 330) with the Śīlāditya of Hiuen Tsiang was first assumed by Dr. Stein in his note and Introduction, p. 6.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Banerji, "Later Guptas of Magadha," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XV, p. 264.

5 *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, (Translated by Pandit), p. 84; iii taraṅga, v, 330.

6 Cf. Stein, *Chronicles of the Kings of Kashmira*, I, p. 83.

7 *Ibid.* Taraṅga Third, v, 125, p. 68. For equating this Yasodharman with king Śīlāditya of Mālavā described by Hiuen Tsiang, Dr. Hoernle has suggested that Yaśōdharman may have been called Śīlāditya. This is baseless and does not require criticism.

8 See Appendix C: *The Later Guptas of Mālavā.*

9 Pathak, "The Abhoṇā Plates of Kaḷachuri Śaṅkargaṇa," *E. I.*, IX, 299.

But Dr. Hoernle does not stop here. He goes further and assumes that Yaśōdharman ruled from A.D. 533 to 583.[1] This seems to be based on Hiuen Tsiang's statement that king Śīlāditya of Mālavā ruled for about fifty years,[2] which, to suit his fancy, Dr. Hoernle ascribes to Yaśōdharman himself. Even apart from the irregularity involved here, the view can hardly be accepted. In A.D. 533 Yaśōdharman was a full-fledged emperor[3] having carved out an empire after defeating several powers including the Hūṇas.[4] Hence his rule must have begun long before A.D. 533, i.e., the date of the Mandasor pillar inscription, when he must have already passed middle age.

Furthermore, Dr. Hoernle supposes that the king of Mālavā who came into hostile contact with Rājyavardhana was Śīlāditya, the son and successor according to him, of Yaśōdharman, whereas the cumulative evidence of Bāṇa[5] and the Madhuban[6] and the Banskhera[7] plates tends to show that it was Devagupta. Our view is further strengthened by the contrast in the character of the two princes. For, while Bāṇa describes the king of Mālavā as 'wicked,' Śīlāditya is described by the Chinese traveller as a man "of rare kindness and compassion."[8]

Finally, in identifying this Śīlāditya with the enemy of Pūṣpabhūti kings, Dr. Hoernle states that his son Bhaṇḍi was surrendered to the Thāṇeśvara court and makes Yaśōmati, the wife of Prabhākaravardhana, Yaśōdharman's daughter. This is pure imagination, and a number of objections at once well up in the mind against it. In the first place, as Mr. Vaidya has indicated, the names of a sister and brother may have some portion in common, as it often happened in those days, but not of a father and daughter.[9] Secondly, when Bāṇa represents Yaśōmati's brother as bringing Bhaṇḍi to Prabhākarvardhana he simply calls him Yaśōmati's brother.[10] Had he been a king of so great a fame as Śīlāditya of Mālavā is believed to be by Dr. Hoernle, Bāṇa would have certainly mentioned the name of the king or at least affixed some epithet indicating his high position.[11] It appears from the plain reference in the context that Yaśōmati was not the daughter of a great king at all, but of some Sāmanta

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1 Hoernle, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242.

3 Fleet, "The Mandasor Pillar Inscriptions," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 150 and Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, XV, p. 253.

4 That Yaśōdharman rose from a feudatory position only would imply that it must have taken a number of years to establish himself as a sovereign king.

5 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

6 Bühler, "The Madhuban Copper-plates of Harsa," *E. I.*, I, p. 72; Kielhorn, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 157.

7 Bühler, "*Banskhera Copper-plates of Harsha*," *E. I.*, IV, p. 210 ff.

8 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

9 Vaidya, *The History of Mediæval Hindu India*, I, p. 38.

10 Bāṇa, *op. et loc. cit.*

11 Vaidya, *op. et loc. cit.*

at the most, and hence her brother is mentioned without any handles to his name. Moreover, when Yaśōmati was widowed and became a *sati* her father and mother appear to have been alive,[1] while Yaśōdharman had died long before. Further, if the epithet *Mahābhūbhṛtakulōdgatā*, "one born in the family of great kings," applied to Yaśōmati by Bāṇa[2] be interpreted literally, this brother who brought Bhaṇḍi must be taken to be a younger brother not entitled to royal titles. This plain mention of Yaśōmati's brother clearly shows that the latter took his son to the court only with a view that the latter might have his prospects improved there. If, on the contrary, Dr. Hoernle's theory is accepted we would be reduced to the absurdity of believing that Bhaṇḍi fought his own father and had the hardheartedness to present to Harṣa the family and the dependents of his father enchained; and to rifle his treasures without any hesitation or feeling at all.[3] It is not possible, as Dr. Hoernle would have us believe, that a boy about eight years old[4] could so far forget his relationship with his own father as to proceed in course of time, against him as his enemy, and fight him with great zeal.

It is further suggested by Dr. Hoernle that after the overthrow of Śīlāditya Harṣavardhana conferred Mālavā on Bhaṇḍi, who was his cousin and Śīlāditya's son. But against this we have the epigraphical evidence which shows that the Maitraka kings were in Mālavā after A.D. 616.[5] Nor does Hiuen Tsiang[6] support Hoernle's assertion. His statement that some time[7] before his visit the country of Mālavā was ruled by a king named Śīladitya[8] corroborates the above epigraphical evidence. Further, Hiuen Tsiang has described Tu-lo-po-po-tu or Dhruvabhaṭṭa, the actual king of Valabhī, as "a nephew of Śīlāditya," a former king of Mālavā.[9] This Dhruvabhaṭṭa of the Chinese

1 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

2 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 103 (Sanskrit text, 176).

3 Vaidya, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 His age at the time is known from Bāṇa's *Harṣacharita* (p. 116); that Bhaṇḍi was about eight years old when he was sent to Thaṇeṣvara.

5 Gadre, "The Virdi Copper-plates of Sam. 297," *The Proceedings of Seventh All India Oriental Conference*, Baroda, p. 659 ff.

6 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, 247.

7 Hiuen Tsiang actually says that it was sixty years before. This is merely from hearsay, and all the details may not have been recorded quite accurately by this Buddhist monk who in the words of Watters "cared little for other things and wanted to know only Buddha and Buddhism" (cf. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, 15). As regards this point of inconsistency, Dr. Hoernle himself has remarked that "being a foreigner, it cannot be expected that he always grasped correctly all the details of the historical informations which he gathered," *J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 565.

8 This Śīladitya of Mālavā is rightly identified with the Maitraka king, cf. Sylvain Levi, *Journal des Savants*, 1905, pp. 544-548. The identification is accepted by Smith, *E. H. I.*, p. 343 and others.

9 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.* We cannot but assume that Hiuen Tsiang has made a confusion in taking Śīladitya as a local king of Mālvā simply on account of his having happened to learn his account in that province, which was in fact, only a part of his vast kingdom.

traveller, as has been already proved, was none other than king Dhruvasena II, a son of Śīlāditya I's brother Kharagraha. All this is confirmed by a statement in a later Buddhist work, the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*, that Śīlāditya ruled from Mālavā to the western Ocean.[1] The circumstances under which the Maitraka kings obtained the country of Mālavā are explained in the chapter on Śīlāditya.[2]

Thus we arrive at the following conclusions:—

(1) Vikramāditya of the *Rājataraṅgiṇi* is not the same as the Śīlāditya mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang.

(2) The king of Mālavā who killed Grahavarman was not a son of Yaśōdharman. It was Devagupta.[3]

(3) The king of Mālavā referred to by the Chinese traveller was the Maitraka king Śīlāditya, Dharmāditya.

(4) In the year A.D. 533 Yaśōdharman was a full-fledged emperor and had passed middle age and that he could not have ruled down to A.D. 583.

(5) Yaśōmati, the wife of Prabhākarvardhana, could not have been a daughter of Yaśōdharman. Her father must have been some Sāmanta at the most.

(6) Mālavā came under the Kaḷachuris some time before A.D. 595 and as we shall presently see, remained under them down to A.D. 609-610.

(7) It came under the sway of the Maitrakas some time during the latter part of Śīlāditya, Dharmāditya's reign, i.e., c. A.D. 612-614.

We now go a step further and make bold to say that the stirring events described by Bāṇa took place not in c. A.D. 606, as Dr. Hoernle tried to prove, but after A.D. 609-610. We know that the Kaḷachuri kings held a vast kingdom under their sway till about this date. This is known from the Vaḍner plates dated A.D. 609 (19th August) where Buddharāja is stated to have granted some plot of land in a village named Kōṇiyas near Bhaṭṭiurika situated in the Vaṭanagarabhōga which has been identified with Vaḍner (usually called Bhahirobaca Vaḍner) in the Chaṇḍvad tāluka of the Nāsik district; while his 'victorious camp' was situated at Vidisā (Besnagar).[4] Evidently, in this year Buddharāja started some of his campaigns from Vidisā which was in the Mālavā dominion. Then again his Sarsavani plates dated A.D. 609-610 reveal that Buddharāja was "in the royal residence of victory fixed at Ānandpura,"[5]

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[1] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] Chapter IX above.

[3] Cf. Ch. VIII on Śīlāditya I.

[4] Gupte, "Vaḍner Plates of Buddharāja, K. Saṁ. 360," *E. I.*, XII, p. 35.

[5] Kielhorn, "The Sarsavani Plates of the Kaḷachuri king Buddharāja," *E. I.*, VI. p. 299 ff.

and he granted a plot in the Gorājjabhoga—situated in the Bharukachchha—viṣaya, to a Brāhmaṇa of the village called Kumārideva, near Bṛhannarika.[1] Since Viḍisā (near Bhilsa) and Ānandapura are places flanking Mālavā as it were, one ih the east and toe other in the west, and since Mālavā had been reduced during the reign of Saṅkaragaṇa, it follows that the Gupta ruler Devagupta whom we see installed there was a feudatory of the Kaḷachuris. Looking to these circumstances it is not possible to believe that the Kaḷachuri king could have remained aloof when important changes were taking place in a neighbouring kingdom, specially when one of the parties involved was a feudatory of Mālavā. Nor is it possible to conceive of a political alliance between a feudatory and a foreign ruler like the Gauḍa king Śaśānka, especially when the suzerain, viz., the Kaḷachuri emperor was not referred to by his feudatory regarding the same. On the other hand, it is absurd to hold, as Dr. Ganguli has suggested, that the king of Mālāva who killed Grahavarman, was himself the Kaḷachuri king.[2] For, had this been the case, Bāṇa would have designated the slayer of Grahavarman as the Kaḷachuri king, and not as the king of Mālavā, because the Kaḷachuris were the overlords, while Mālavā was a feudatory state or at best an appanage of the Kaḷachuri empire. What is more, the intervention of the Gauḍa king at this stage shows, if anything, that the Kalachuri power was then no more and that suzerainty had passed to the Gauḍas. Again, was it not strange for the Bāṅskhera and the Madhuban inscriptions to state that Rājyavardhana had curbed the power of Devagupta and others in the battle while they should say nothing about the Kaḷachuris who were in full possession of their strength till A.D. 609-610? The conclusion, therefore, follows that it was after the disappearance of the Kaḷachuri imperialism that the momentous events described by Bāṇa took place, i.e., some time after A.D. 609-10. The accession of Harṣa which occurred after these events must, therefore, be shifted from A.D. 606 in which year it is usually placed, to a date, which is in agreement with the above chronology preferably to A.D. 612, as was long ago suggested by Watters.[3]

It must also be noted that the year A.D. 606 was assigned as the year of the accession of Harṣa on the statement of Alberuni, who in an ambiguous passage discusses the difference between the Harṣa and other eras. "His (Harṣa's) era is used in Mathurā and the country of Kanauj. Between Śrī-Harsha and Vikramāditya there is an interval of 400 years, as I have been told by some of the inhabitants of that region. However, in the Kashmirian calendar I have read that Śrī-Harsha was 664 years later than Vikramāditya. In face of this discrepancy, I am in perfect uncertainty, which to the present moment has not yet been cleared up by any trustworthy information."[4] The

[1] Kielhorn, "The Sarsavani Plates of the Kaḷachuri king Buddhraja," *E. I.*. VI, p. 299 ff.
[2] Ganguli, " Mālavā in the 6th and the 7th centuries A.D.," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIX, p. 406.
[3] Watters, *op. cit.*, I, 347.
[4] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 5.

former date is about three centuries earlier than Harṣa's reign, and hence it could be rejected outright. As regards the latter date, as read by Alberuni in the eleventh century (A.D. 1030), it is not clear whether Harṣa Saṁvat commenced in the course of the 664th year of Vikramāditya's era or after its completion. In case the year of the *abhiśekha* of Harṣa was taken to be the 664th year of Vikramāditya, the corresponding date in A.D. would be 606-607. If, on the other hand, it was taken to be 664 years after Vikrama Saṁvat, the first year of Harṣa-Saṁvat would correspond to A.D. 607-608.[1] Moreover, as Dr. Bühler says, "what Alberuni really means can be settled only by astronomical calculations, in case a number of dates with the days of the week, or a statement regarding an eclipse, are found."[2] Fortunately, out of a good number of inscriptions believed to be dated in the Harṣa Saṁvat, the requisite astronomical data are supplied by two records—that of 34[3] and of 563[4]—which give an intercalary month and a day of the week respectively. The former of Saṁvat 34 belongs to Aṁsuvarman who was a feudatory of king Śivadeva[5] of Nepal. As regards this inscription, it is not clear as to what era the year 34 is to be referred. Prof. S. Levi thinks that it may be a local era[6] for the very sound reason that Aṁsuvarman could not have ruled after A.D. 637[7] since Hiuen Tsiang who visited northern India in that year, speaks of him as already dead: "Lately there was a king called Aṁsūvarman . . . who was distinguished for his learning and ingenuity."[8] But in the seventh century, according to the calculation given by Mr. Bendall, it was in the year A.D. 640 that Pauṣa was intercalary.[9] Moreover, we know that the inscription was discovered near Nepal[10] and not near Thāṇeśvara, as is the case with the other

[1] Bhagwanlal Indraji, (edited by Bühler), "History of Nepal," *I. A.*, XIII, p. 420, note 37.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Bendall, *A Journey in Nepal and Northern India*, p. 74.

[4] Keilhorn, "Three Dates of the Harsha Era," *I. A.*, XXVI, p. 32; Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, XIV, p. 72.

[5] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

[6] *Vide* Kielhorn (Bhandarkar's Inscriptions of Northern India), *E. I.*, XX, p. 189, note 6, cf. S. Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, 1894, Juillet-Aout, p. 62.

[7] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 565; cf. Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

[8] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 81.

[9] Bendall, *op. cit.*, p. 76. The commencement of the local era here referred to is assigned by S. Levi to A.D. 595. But as has been pointed out by Dr. Kielhorn (*E. I.*, XX, p. 189), the same objection would militate against this era also, for an inscription of Aṁsuvarman of 400 and 45 has been found (Bhagwanlal Indraji, "Inscriptions from Nepal," *I. A.*, IX, p. 171). Beal has tentatively suggested A.D. 580-600 as the period of Aṁsuvarman's rule (cf. Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 81, note 102). The same argument also holds good against the opinion of Mr. Bendall. He has rightly taken the basis of this era (in which the month of Pauṣa was intercalary in the thirty-fourth year) to be not the *Sūrya-siddhānta* in which Pauṣa is never intercalary, but a work which had the same elements as the *Brahma-Siddhānta;* and that according to this rule the year 34 will correspond to A.D. 640, thus placing the commencement of the Harṣa era in A.D. 606.

[10] Bendall, *op. et loc. cit.*

inscription (of 563) in question. Hence the use of a local era is more likely than that of Harṣavardhana's. Harṣavardhana was the ruler of Thāṇeśvara and Kanauj. Since Aṁśuvarman was a feudatory chief of Nepal he may have followed the local era of his overlord.

The other inscription, viz., the Panjaur inscription, which is believed to be dated in the Harṣa Saṁvat, gives 563 Jyeṣṭha Śukla 9th with Friday as the day of the week.[1] Now, taking the era to have commenced early in the seventh century, there are three years when Friday could have occurred on Jyeṣṭha Śukla 9th. These are 17th May 1168,[2] 2nd June 1172[3] and 30th May 1175.[4] The first is out of the question, the era in that case being commenced in (1168-563)=A.D. 605. But neither Alberuni's account nor the calculations given by Bendall, tend to support this date, as in the first case the era would have to be placed between A.D. 606 and 608, while in the second in A.D. 606. As for the second date, A.D. 1172 we know that the month Jyeṣṭha of this year was intercalary[5], while in the inscription referred to above, the intercalation is not mentioned. Had there been an intercalary Jyeṣṭha when the inscription in question was issued, the writer would not have failed to record it. Hence the commencement of the era cannot be placed in A.D. 609 either. But the date exactly fits in with 30th May A.D. 1175 when the month (Jyeṣṭha), pakṣa (Śukla), tithi (navamī) and the day, viz., Friday, are all in full correspondence. According to this date the commencement of the era would fall in (1175-563)=A.D. 612.[6]

Further, Hiuen Tsiang, who attended the sixth quinquennial assembly to be held during the reign of Harṣa at Prayāga in A.D. 643, says that at that time Harṣa had " been lord of India " for thirty years and more![7] This expression would suggest that he had ruled for a little more than thirty years and also possibly that the pilgrim had a round number in mind. This again is more in agreement with the view that his reign commenced in A.D. 612 than with that which would put it in A.D. 606. For while the one gives thirty-one years the other yields thirty-seven, which is nearer the round number of forty than thirty.

1 Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, III, p. 338.

3 *Ibid*, p. 346.

4 *Ibid*, p. 352.

5 *Ibid*, p. 346.

6 The fact that this inscription was found in a village named Panjaur, which is situated 70 miles to the north of Thāṇeśvara, (cf. Kielhorn, *op. cit., I. A.*, XXVI, p. 31), the first capital of Harṣavardhana, is another confirmation that it was dated in the Harṣa era.

7 Beal, *The Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 183-4.

Finally, Harṣa, as we know from the evidence of Bāṇa,[1] was born in A.D. 590,[2] and accordingly he would be only sixteen years old if A.D. 606 be taken as the year of his accession. This is rather too early an age for all the adventures recorded of him, while on the other hand, if his accession be placed in A.D. 612, it would make him a laḍ of twenty-two, an age, when the deeds ascribed to him could have been accomplished, and which yet answers to the description of him as a boy—"if I (Harṣa) am regarded as a boy"[3]—which possibly only means that he was just out of his teens.

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1 Cf. Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Bāṇa says that Harṣa was born in " the month of Jyeṣṭha. on the twelfth day of the dark fortnight, the Pleiads being in the ascendant, just after the twilight time, when the young night had begun to climb."

2 According to the astronomical calculations made on the basis of the data supplied by Bāṇa, Prof. Apte of the Victoria College, Lashkar, maintains that the corresponding year was Śaka 511 or 512 (i.e., A.D. 589 or 590 *vide* Vaidya, *op. cit.*, I, 40-1). Mr. Vaidya, on the other hand, thinks that it must be Śaka 512 (Sunday, 4th June A.D. 590) as in the former, i.e., Śaka 511 Dvādaśi set in after the sunrise, cf. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 41-2.

3 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

APPENDIX B

THE GURJARAS

THE origin of the Gurjaras has not still emerged from the field of controversy. While on the one hand it is contended that they entered India along with the Hūṇas and were a branch of that race,[1] it is pointed out on the other that the Indian records clearly distinguish between these two peoples.[2] It is also assumed from the place-names in the Punjāb like Gujarānwālā, Gujarāt, Gujarakhaṇd and the like, that their first settlements were in that province. This again is a gratuitous assumption, for the simple reason that there is no mention of this people as existing in the Punjāb before the end of the sixth century, while it is known for a fact that in or about A.D. 550[3] they had established their power in Rajputānā. From Rajputānā they may have extended their sway over a part of the Punjāb where their memory still lingers in the above place-names.[4] Thus the question of the origin of these interesting people has to be left as an open one.

The five Ghatiyālā inscriptions of the Gurjara kings supply a long line of kings belonging to the Gurjara dynasty extending over twelve generations.[5] Now taking twenty-five years for each generation, the total period of their rule would be three hundred years. The known date of Kakkuka is Saṁvat 918 or A.D. 861 and that of his brother Bauka is Saṁvat 894 or A.D. 837, hence the founder Harichandra of this dynasty may be placed as stated by Dr. Majumdar in A.D. 550.[6] One of these five inscriptions mentions that four sons of Harichandra built a rampart round the fort of Maṇḍayapura which

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[1] *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. I, pp. 2-5; Bhandarkar, " Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population," *I. A.*, XL, p. 7 ff; Bhandarkar, " Gurjaras," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXI, p. 405 ff; Forbes, *Rāsa-Mālā*, I, p. 40; Smith, *E. H. I.*, 428 ff; Hoernle, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904; p. 639, 662; 1909, p. 53 ff.

[2] Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 101, while enumerating the campaigns of Prabhākaravardhana distinguishes between the Hūṇas and the Gurjaras. Then again in the Badal pillar inscription of A.D. 925 (cf. Kielhorn, " The Badal Pillar Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇa Pāla," *E. I.*, II, pp. 161, 165) the Hūṇas and Gurjaras are distinguished. Cf. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83 ff; Ojha, *History of Rajputānā*, I, p. 151; Krishnaswamy Iyengar quoted in Majumdar's " The Gurjara-Pratihāra," *J. D. L.*, X, p. 3; Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradesa*, p. 4 ff.

[3] This date is arrived at by the later Ghatiyālā inscription of the line, cf. Bhandarkar, " The Ghatiyālā Inscriptions of Kakkuka, Saṁ. 918," *E. I.*, IX, p. 277 ff. and *J. R. A. S.*, 1895, p. 513.

[4] Majumdar, " The Gurjara-Pratihāras," *J. D. L.*, X, p. 2.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 7. Dr. Hoernle in his article " Some Problems of Ancient Indian History," *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 28 has made a mistake in calculating the period of rule of each generation by taking less than twenty-five years. This point has been made clear by Majumdar in the above mentioned article.

was gained by their own prowess. This place can be identified as Mandor in the neighbourhood of which place the inscription was found.[1] The next mention of the Gurjaras is in the *Harṣacharita*, where Bāṇa styles Prabhākarvardhana as the 'Gurjaraprajāgara'[2] which according to the commentatory of Saṁketa, means one who deprived the Gurjaras of their sleep. We know that the two kingdoms were not very far from each other, and since Prabhākarvardhana followed an imperialistic policy, it is possible that he sought to bring them under his control. In about the middle of the seventh century the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang found them ruling from Bhinnamāla in Rajputānā, which may thus be taken to have been the capital of the Harichandra's dynasty.[3]

Harichandra had a son called Daḍḍa. Dr. Sankalia[4] agrees with Dr. Majumdar in identifying the latter, with Daḍḍa I, the founder of the Broach branch of the Gurjara family.[5] Now there is no doubt that Daḍḍa was the founder of this branch, since all the inscriptions of his successors refer to him as their progenitor. But it is far from certain if it was in Daḍḍa I's time that their capital came to be established at Broach or Nāndipuri[6]; for as to this we have so far the inconclusive evidence of a fragmentary inscription only. This is the Saṅkheḍā inscription of 346, i.e., A.D. 595-596.[7] This plate contains neither the name of the donor nor the place from which it was issued; but the donor is identified as Daḍḍa I, the Gurjara king on the ground that the writer is the Sandhivigrahika Āditya Bhōgika. Now, it was only in very small kingdoms that the two offices of Sandhivigrahika and Bhōgika could have been held by one and the same person[8]; and the record may in consequence be taken to belong to Daḍḍa I, within whose reign it actually falls. Similar instances are met with in the Gurjara grants of a later period. An instance in point are the Bagumra plates of Daḍḍa II, where the *dūtaka*, a post almost always held among the Maitrakas by a prince who is also a yuvarāja, is held by a bhōgika.[9] Then again the characters of this grant closely resemble those of another undoubted inscription of Saṁ. 391 and other published grants of the family.[10] It may, therefore, be taken tentatively that it was in Daḍḍa I's

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1 *Prog. Rept. Arch. Surv., W. Circle*, 1906-7, p. 30.

2 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 249; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 270.

4 Sankalia, *The Archæology of Gujarāt*, p. 14.

5 Majumdar, *op. cit.*, *J. D. L.*, X, p. 10.

6 A Sāmanta chief Samgamasiṁha was in possession of this part of the country before the Gurjaras established at Broach. This is known from his grant issued from Bharukachha dated A.D. 540-1, cf. Sten Konow, "Sunao Kala Plates of Samgamasiṁha," *E. I.*, X, p. 72.

7 Dhru, "Three Land-Grants from Saṅkheḍā," *E. I.*, II, p. 19 ff. Acharya, *op. cit.*, II, No. 109.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Bühler, "Gurjara Inscription" (Bagumra Plates), *I. A.*, XVII, p. 200.

10 *Ibid.*

line that Broach or rather Nāndipuri became the capital of the Gurjaras—an event which may have taken place in or about A.D. 580. It is at this time that the Maitraka power had been weakened by the onslaughts of the Maukharis,[1] and naturally they could not prevent the Gurjara advance towards the Narbadā. But the Gurjara glory was of short duration; for before long the Gurjaras were caught up in the Kaḷachuri drive to the west coast. The territory under Daḍḍa was detached from the north province of Bhinnamāla, and he saved himself by acknowledging the paramountcy of the Kaḷachuris.[2] This is established by the fact that the Kaḷachuris made their grant of land in Barukachchha Viṣaya of their empire as late as A.D. 609-10.[3]

In editing the Sarsavni plates Dr. Kielhorn has remarked that "the eulogistic part of this inscription or of some similar Kaḷachuri grant was known to, and made use of by, the authors of the corresponding portions of the grants of the Gurjara Daḍḍa (II), Prasantarāga, of the (Kaḷachuri) year 380 and 385, and of the (Gujarāt) Chālukya, Vijayarāja[4] of the (Kaḷachuri) year 394."[5] And again "if Daḍḍa Prasantarāga had been preceded by other Gurjara kings, a eulogist of his, in drawing up his *praśasti* most probably would have taken for his model some older Gurjara grant, and would not have allowed himself to be inspired by a Kaḷachuri grant." From which Dr. Kielhorn concludes that the Gurjaras were the underlords of the Kaḷachuris. While I do not doubt the fact for quite other reasons, I feel the argument of Kielhorn is weakened by his own admission that the inscriptions of the Chālukyas of Gujarāt and those of the Maitrakas also show the same characteristics. Nor can I agree that the word 'Kṛṣṇa' in the Gurjara grant implies an invocation of the Kaḷachuri king Kṛṣṇarāja. For the purpose of proving the thesis of Kaḷachuriya suzerainty the land grant made in the Bharukachchha viṣaya in the Sarsavani plates is more than sufficient.

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1 Cf. See chapter on Dharasena II, p. 4. This is further clear from the fact that in an inscription dated A.D. 573 Dharasena II assumed the title 'Mahārāja,' while in the later grant dated A.D. 588-9 he styles himself 'Sāmanta' only, thus indicating the weakness of the Maitraka rule in the period.

2 *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 315. That the Gurjaras were at this time engaged in a bitter struggle against the Kaḷachuris or their feudatory Nirihullaka (that the Saṅkheḍā plates of the general of Nirihullaka were issued from the battle-field camp at Nirguṇḍipadraka, which is identified as Nāgarvāḍa, 6 koṣ from Dabhoi, supports the hypothesis) is evident from the Kāvi plates of the Gurjara king Daḍḍa II (cf. Acharya, *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, II, p. 4 ff), which while speaking of Daḍḍa I, his father, significantly observe that he "uprooted the Nāgas" who according to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji may have been the same as the jungle tribe ruled by Nirihullaka (Cf. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 115).

3 This is clear from the Sarsavani plates of Buddharāja where the piece of land granted was in the Bharukachchha Viṣaya, cf. Kielhorn, "Sarsavni Plates of Buddharāja, K. Saṁ. 361," *E. I.*, VI, p. 294 ff.

4 Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VII, 248.

5 Kielhorn, "The Sarsavani Plates of the Kaḷachuri king Buddharāja," *E. I.*, VI, p. 299 ff.

To continue the history of the Gurjaras, the Kaḷachuriya hegemony came to an end somewhere after A.D. 609-610. The Kaḷachuris were engaged in continuous warfare with the ruling family of the Chālukyas[1] in the south of their dominions, and after A.D. 610 in the reign of Pulikeśin II the Gurjaras definitely passed under the suzerainty of the latter.

[1] Fleet, "Sanskrit and the Old Canerese Inscriptions," (Nerur Pl.), *I. A.*, VII, p. 162; Fleet, "The Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa," *I. A.*, XIX, p. 19.

APPENDIX C

THE LATER GUPTAS OF MALAVA

Mahāsena Gupta of the later Guptas was undoubtedly the ruler of Mālavā. This fact is supported by the fall of the Imperial Guptas and the gradual rise of the Maukhari dynasty at Magadha.[1] Even in the days of Harṣa and a few years before the commencement of his reign direct control over Magadha was exercised not by the Guptas but by the rulers of the Maukhari line.[2] In the Deo-Baranarka inscription of Jivitagupta II,[3] which records the continuance of the grant of a village in South Bihar, a reference is made to Bālāditya and after him to the Maukharis, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman—thus indicating absolute sovereignty of Sarvavarman and Avantivarman in Magadha, while the Gupta kings were ruling in Mālavā.[4] The stone inscriptions of the Maukharis which are generally found in the United Provinces (Bārā Banki district, etc.) also prove the supremacy of the Maukharis over this part of the country.[5] Professor Banerji[6] has followed Dr. Fleet[7] in his assumption that the Gupta kings mentioned in the Aphṣad inscription,[8] were rulers of Magadha[9] on the basis of a statement in the inscription that Mahāsena Gupta vanquished a king of Assam (Susthitavarman)[10] and that his glory was sung on the banks of Lauhitya.[11] This according to him could not have happened unless Mahāsenagupta had been ruling in Magadha. For

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1 The Maukharis were steadily but surely building up an empire at this time: cf. Pires *The Maukharis*, p. 84. This is supported by Īśvaravarman's title ' Mahārāja ' in the Asiragarh inscription, ' Kṣitipati ' in the Harāhā inscription and ' Nṛpati ' in the Jaunpur inscription. While Bāṇa says, " at the head of all royal houses stand the Maukharis." (Cf. Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 22.)

2 *Ibid.*

3 Fleet, *op. cit.*, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 215 ff; Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, XVI, pp. 68 and 73.

4 Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, p. 493; Mookerji, *Harṣa*, pp. 60-7. Vaidya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 35; Dandekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-7; Ganguli, *op. et loc. cit.*; Mookerji, " The Later Guptas of Magadha," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XV, p. 251 ff; Raychaudhari, " A Note on the Later Guptas," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XV, p. 651 ff.; Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

5 Hamid, " Nālandā Inscription," *The Monuments in Bihar and Orissa*, p. 88, No. 17; Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 222, 227 and 229; Sastri, *A. S. I. An. Rept.*, 1927-8, p. 139.

6 Banerji, " Later Guptas of Magadha," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, p. 264.

7 Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, Introduction, p. 14.

8 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.* (line 10).

9 This view is also held by other scholars such as R. C. Majumdar, *Outline of Ancient Indian History and Culture*, (1927), p. 537; and in his *History of Bengal*, pp. 55-7; Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

10 On the authority of Bāṇa, *Harṣa Charita*, p. 177, Nidhanpur Copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman and the Nālandā Seal of Bhāskaravarman Susthitavarman is accepted as a king of Kāmarupa. Hoernle, *J. R. A. S.*, 1904; and Dr. Mookerji, *op. cit.*, p. 25, f.n. 1, held that he belonged to the Maukhari line. Banerji proved this erroneous (*J. B. O. R. S.*, XIV, p. 255). In spite of Mookerji's arguments to the contrary (*Ibid*, XV, p. 252), it is generally and correctly held that Susthitavarman was a king of Kāmarupa.

11 Fleet, *op. cit.*, *C. I. I.*, III, pp. 203 and 206.

the banks of the Lauhitya, i.e., the Brahmaputrā here means Āssam—the country of Susthitavarman or perhaps the land along the Brahmaputrā river. As regards this point Dr. Raychaudhari has observed that "the way before him (Mahāsenagupta) was prepared by his immediate predecessors: Kumāragupta, his (Mahāsenagupta's) grandfather, pushed to Prayāga,[1] while Dāmodargupta, father of Mahāsenagupta, claims to have "broken up the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis."[2] But this argument of Dr. Raychaudhari will hardly convince any discerning student. True, Dāmōdargupta is said to have broken up "the proudly stepping array of mighty elephants belonging to the Maukharis." But his reign was not successful at all. The inscription veils his defeat under a phraseology which suggests victory, while in reality the victory lay with Sarvavarman; for the Gupta king as the record euphemistically puts it, "became unconscious (and expired in the fight)."[3] Similarly we know that Mahāsenagupta's reign was not a success either. The Kaḷachuris or the Kaṭachuris, as we have already seen, defeated him and occupied Ujjain by A.D. 595,[4] and his two sons had to seek refuge at Thāṇeśvara court.

What seems a more reasonable answer to Professor Banerji's argument is that the increasing power of Susthitavarman was a menace to all the northern powers. The kings of Gauḍa of this period were feeble rulers. We know that Śaśāṅka began his reign as *Mahāsāmanta* only. And possibly he and his immediate predecessors were living under the suzerainty of Susthitavarman, and continued under his son Bhāskaravarman. This may be gathered from his Nidhānpura plates which were actually issued from Karṇasuvarṇa.[5] In the face of this increasing menace to their independence the Maukharis, the Vardhanas and the Guptas must have buried their differences and joined hands against the common enemy. This is substantiated by the fact that while the family history is particular in its reference to the conflict they had with the Maukharis down to the reign of Mahāsenagupta, it is silent about this during the latter's rule. The marriage of Rājyaśri, the daughter of Prabhākarvardhana, a grandson of the Gupta house of Mālavā, with Grahavarman was a culmination of this policy of friendship between the three north-western powers. There was no difficulty, therefore, for Mahāsenagupta to march across Magadha. But it seems more likely that it was the king of Āssam that was the aggressor, and was soundly defeated by the combined armies. When the poet says that the victory of Mahāsenagupta was sung on the bank of the Lauhitya, he only

[1] Fleet, *op. cit.*, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 221.

[2] Raychaudhari, *op. et loc. cit.;* and Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

[3] Fleet, *op. cit.*, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 206; Niranjan Ray, "The Maukharis of Kanauj," *Calcutta Review*, XXVI, p. 209: Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[4] Pathak, "Abhoṇā Plates of the Kaḷachuri Śaṅkaragaṇa," *E. I.*, IX, p. 297 ff.

[5] Prof. Padmanāth Bhaṭṭāchārya Vidyāvinod, "Nidhānpur Copper-plates of Bhāskarvarman," *E. I.*, XII, p. 73; cf. Bhaṭṭāchārya, "Review on Early History of Kāmarupa by Barua," *I. H. Q.*, X, pp. 594-5.

wants to say in the exaggerated language of the poets that the defeat brought home to the people of Āssam the lesson that they should never again think of invasion.[1] As a result of the victory of these allied powers Susthitavarman was baulked of his ambition to impose his yoke on Magadha and Mālavā. The victory was, therefore, decisive only to this extent. For the power of Susthitavarman so far as eastern India was concerned continued undiminished throughout his reign and even during a part of the reign of his son Bhāskaravarman. Therefore, there is no contradiction between the information yielded by the Aphṣad inscription regarding the defeat of Susthitavarman and the glorious panegyric on the part of Bāṇa of the same ruler.[2] When Professor Mookerji objects that Mahāsenagupta could not have attacked an ally of Harṣa,[3] the king of Kāmarūpa,[4] he forgets that Harṣa was not a contemporary of Mahāsenagupta, that the event under reference took place perhaps even before he was born; and that the Harṣa-Bhāskarvarman alliance came about only after Harṣa's accession to the throne.

Thus the fact that the later Guptas ruled in Mālavā cannot be doubted. That there was a branch of the Gupta family ruling at Mālavā had also been perceived by Professor Banerji.[5] But he, nevertheless, opposed the view that Mahāsenagupta was ruler only of Mālavā. Evidently he did not clear the point as to who were the rulers of that line. The existence of the Gupta kings of Mālavā is well testified to by Bāṇa when he mentions the two sons of the king of Mālavā named Kumāra-Gupta and Mādhavagupta figuring as companions of Rājya and Harṣa at the court of king Prabhākarvardhana. This is supported by the Aphṣad stone inscription which mentions a Mādhava Gupta who was "wishing for the company of Śrī Harṣa," on the basis of the common characterisation that he was a companion of Harṣa. From this inscription we know it for certain that Mahāsenagupta was Mādhavagupta's father. Although the name of Mādhavagupta is omitted by Bāṇa it is supplied by the Aphṣad inscription. Moreover, Hiuen Tsiang who visited India in Harṣa's time calls Pūrṇavarman the occupant of the Magadha throne,[6] and does not say a word about Mādhavagupta or his father.[7] The fact is, therefore apparent that it was only after Harṣa's death that Mādhavagupta or his son Ādityasena Gupta established the Gupta line in Magadha. This is also borne out by the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* when it asserts that the later

1 Mookerji, "The Later Guptas of Magadha," *J. B. O. R. S.*, XV, p. 251 ff.

2 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 117, 217.

3 Mookerji, *op. et loc. cit.*, p. 254.

4 Bāṇa, *op. et loc. cit.*

5 Banerji, *Banglar Itihāsa*, I, p. 105; cf. Mookerji, *op. et loc. cit.* cf. Dandekar, *op. et loc. cit.*

6 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 218; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115.

7 This Pūrṇavarman is identified with a later Maukhari ruler, cf. Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, XV, p. 166; Pires, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

Guptas became rulers of Magadha only from the time of Devagupta, the son of Āditya Gupta.[1] The author of this work is obviously mistaken in the earlier part of his statement in trying to connect these Guptas with the Gauda country,[2] but the point nevertheless is established that their rule began elsewhere than Magadha.[3]

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1 Cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

2 We know from the statement of Hiuen Tsiang that the Boddhi tree was cut off by Saśānka at Buddha Gayā, hence it is clear that the place must be under him and not under the Guptas as stated by the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*.

3 Even at the time of the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta, memory of Varmas at Magadha was not forgotten as the Maukhari supremacy over this country is hinted in this inscription, Hirālāl, " Sirpur Inscription of the time of Mahāśiva Gupta," *E. I.*, XI, p. 89.

APPENDIX D

A NOTE ON THE GADDEMANE VIRAGAL[1]

"While Śīlāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful and a thorn in the way of the bravest, ascended the throne of his empire, Pettaṇi Satyānka, a brave soldier capable of destroying enemies in the battlefield, pierced through the thick of the battle with the brave Beḍara Rāya, so as to cause frightfulness to Mahendra and reached the abode of Svarga. Whoever preserves the field of crops (gifted to his relations), attains good and he who removes it will be guilty of five great sins."[1]

On a stone set up in the jungle near the village Gaddemane of Sāgar Hobli there is mention of one Śīlāditya who, as given above, is described as "the light of the quarters, the most powerful, and a thorn in the way of the bravest" and that "(he) ascended the throne of his empire." This Śīlāditya can be no other than the Valabhī prince who is described as ruling over the lands near the Vindhyās. The inscription does not supply any clue to ascertain who this Śīlāditya was. However, the above description leads one to suppose that he was one of the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty, in whose records this name is found very often. Now the next question arises as to which of the seven kings of this name this Śīlāditya was. From the description recorded in the Maitraka grants we know that it was only Derabhaṭṭa's son who is described as having conquered and ruled over the southern part of the Valabhī kingdom. It seems likely that after the death of Pulikeśin, when the Chālukya empire in the Deccan became practically a Pallava province, Śīlāditya may have led a predatory excursion into this territory and came into conflict with the Pallavas. He was met by Mahendravarma and in the course of the fight he may have lost one of his commanders in whose memory the Gaddamane Viragal was set up. This Śīlāditya, as we have seen above, was a contemporary of Dharasena IV, and may have ruled conjointly with him, the part of the Maitraka territory entrusted to his care being the territory which had been annexed to their kingdom by his father.

Their antagonist mentioned under the name of Mahendra seems to be their Pallava contemporary Mahendravarman II.[2]

This Śīlāditya of the Viragal was first identified by Śrīkantha Śāstri[3] with Harṣavardhana of Kanauj on the ground of the existence of a couplet in Sanskrit[4]:

> "Bhupālāḥ śaśibhāskarānvayabhuvaḥ ke nam nāsāditāḥ/
> Bhartāram punar ekameva hi bhuvastvā devam manyā mahe/
> Yenāṅgam parimṛṣya Kuntalamathā kṛṣya vyudasyā yatam/
> Coḷam prāpya ca madhyadeśamadhunā kāncyām karaḥ pātitaḥ//"

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1 *My. Ar. Dept.*, (1923), p. 83.
2 Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 65.
3 Śāstri, *J. R. A. S.* (1926), p. 487.
4 *Ibid.*

These lines are supposed to have been written by a man called Mayūra, who is taken to be the father-in-law of Bāṇa.[1] In this couplet, it is said that Harṣa conquered the Chōḷa, Drāvida and Karṇāṭaka countries. The evidence of the couplet written by an uncertain author cannot be taken seriously. Secondly, in the absence of any other confirmatory evidence, this can only be regarded as "praise in the conventional exaggerated style" and without any reference to historical accuracy. As regards the identification of this Śīlāditya of the Viragal with Harṣa, neither Mr. Śāstri nor Mr. Ray, who has followed him, quoted the important clause of the Viragal. They have besides wrongly inserted the phrase "when Harṣa came conquering, and Mahendra fled in fear" where it should have "while Śīlāditya, the light of the quarters, the most powerful, . . . ascended the throne of his empire." From this it would follow that Harṣa invaded the Deccan immediately on his accession. But this is a fact about which both Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsiang are silent, when they would have certainly made much of it had such a thing ever taken place, specially in view of the later defeat of Harṣa. Furthermore, as we have already seen, Harṣa could not have ventured out of his kingdom at a time when he was still contending with a mortal enemy next door, the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. He could, of course, have come down to the south during the period that followed the death of Pulikeśin, i.e., between A.D. 642 and 648. But then the fact mentioned in the inscription goes counter to this supposition, viz., that the invasion took place soon after the accession of the Śīlāditya mentioned in the Viragal.

As regards this Śīlāditya's identification with the Chālukya prince Śīlāditya Srayāsraya (grandson of Pulikeśin II), it may be noted that Dr. Majumdar does not give any reason beyond stating that constant hostility was going on between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas as in the south.[2] Moreover, the description in the Viragal, viz. "when Śīlāditya ascended the throne of his empire, . . . etc.," goes directly against this identification, for the simple reason that this Śīlāditya had no throne to speak of, leave alone "a throne of the empire." He was a mere officer of the Chālukyas, who bore the title of Yuvarāja, possibly because he belonged to the royal family, not because he was the heir-apparent, as the known facts about Chālukya history amply testify.

Lastly, Dr. B. A. Saletore, while he is correct in his observation that he was a Valabhī king, trips when he says that "this was Derabhaṭṭa also called Śīlāditya"[3] for Derabhaṭṭa as is well known from the Valabhī inscriptions was never called Śīlāditya. This Śīlāditya was his son, who like him may have ruled conjointly with his cousin, the Valabhī king, and is described as the lord of the Vindhya Mountains.

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1 Ray, "Harṣa Śīlāditya: a revised study," *I. H. Q.*, III, p. 769 ff.

2 Majumdar, "Extent of Harṣavardhana's Empire," *I. H. Q.*, V, p. 235.

3 Saletore, "Harṣavardhana in Karṇāṭaka," *J. M. S.*, XXII, p. 181.

APPENDIX E

NOTE TO CHAPTER ON SILADITYA V

That the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihāra was Ujjain is doubted by Mr. Sharma in his article on " The Original Capital of the Pratihāras of Kanauj " (*A. B. O. R.*, XVIII, p. 396). He thinks Jālor was the capital of the early Pratihāra rulers. " If Vatsarāja and Avanipati were identical," he argues, " there would be no need to use the two words ' Bhūbṛta ' and ' Nṛpa ' in juxtaposition "; the conclusion, therefore, follows that they were used to show that Jinasena regarded the two as different persons. But this argument of Mr. Sharma is not convincing. It may be for the sake of metre that such words are employed. Then again the word ' Gurjareśa ' cannot be taken as the king of the present province of Gujarāt as Mr. Sharma believes.[1] At this time it only meant the lord of the Gurjara tribe. For we know that Gujarāt was not then known by this name. And it was only in the later period that we find the earliest mention of Gujarātra bhūmi as given in the Daulatpur Copper-plate inscription,[2] possibly in conformity to the age long practice, whereby after a dynasty was overthrown the country over which it had ruled was named after it—Kadamba-Maṇḍala, Sendraka-Viṣaya, Naḷavāḍiviṣaya being instances in point. Lastly, the writer has quoted a short extract from Uddyotana Sūri's *Kuvalayamālā*, a Śvetāmbar Jaina work in which it is stated that it was composed while its author was staying in a temple of Ṛṣabhadeva at Jivālipura (modern Jālor), which was at the time ruled by the redoubtable Raṇahastin Vatsarāja.[3] We may grant the identification of the latter with the Vatsarāja mentioned in the Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa. It must, however, be pointed out that the reference to Jivālipura in these lines nowhere indicates that it was the capital of Vatsarāja. All that we gather therefrom is that the place was included in the kingdom of Vatsarāja.[4]

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[1] These Pratihāras undoubtedly belonged to the Gurjara tribe as proved by Dr. Majumdar (" The Gurjara Pratihāra," *J. D. L.*, X, p. 1 ff) on the evidence of the Rajor Inscriptions.

[2] Kielhorn, " Daulatpura Plates of Bhojadēva I," *E. I.*, V, p. 211 ff.

[3] Cf. Gandhi's introduction to the *Apabhraṁsa Kāvyatrayī*, pp. 89-93 (G. O. Series).

[4] Mr. Sharma (*art. cit.*) believed that the " Gurjara-Pratihāra " is the term used to show that the Pratihāra family ruled over Gujarāt. But the arguments of Dr. Bhandarkar, Dr. Fleet, Pathak and Peterson in favour of the Gurjara origin of the Pratihāra are more convincing, or at the most it may be, as Mr. Munshi (*op. cit.*) and Dr. Ganguli (*I. H. Q.*, X, 337, 613) believe, they were originally the lords of the Gurjaradeśa which was different from the present Gujarāt.

APPENDIX F

DATE OF HARSA-PULIKESIN WAR

C. V. Vaidya,[1] Ray,[2] Altekar,[3] Sankalia,[4] R. C. Parikh,[5] are among the scholars who hold that it was Dhruvasena II that was defeated by Harṣa. Contrary to this opinion the late Dr. Bhagwānlāl Indraji[6] held the view that the conflict between Valabhī and Harṣa took place in the reign of Dharasena IV for the reason that Dhruvasena II was Harṣa's son-in-law. This argument is elaborated by Mr. K. Chattopadhya.[7] He bases his opinion among others on the silence of Hiuen Tsiang regarding this war between Valabhī and Kanauj, and the fact that in the known grants of Daḍḍa II which range from A.D. 629-641 no mention is made of this important event. Taking this argument first, it must be observed that the boast of Jayabhaṭṭa that his ancestor Daḍḍa gave shelter to the king of Valabhī, has to be taken with great reservation. It has been pointed out above that as compared with Valabhī, Broach was a very feeble power, hardly in a position to render any help worth mentioning, i.e., help which would have made a difference to the receiver. If, therefore, the fact was not recorded among the achievements of Daḍḍa, it was very probably because the latter realised the absurdity of such a mention. But the fact is undoubted that Dhruvasena did betake himself to the court of Broach, after his kingdom was overrun by Harṣa, a circumstance easily understandable since Daḍḍa was his fellow-feudatory under Pulikeśin II. It is very likely that from Broach he sent appeals for help to his overlord. Presumably this simple fact served as a basis for the later account of the Navasāri plates, magnified out of all proportion in the course of seven decades. In this connection Dr. Altekar has rightly observed that "it is quite probable that the credit claimed by (for?) Daḍḍa II may have really belonged to Pulikeśin whose feudatory he probably was,"[8] and he has given instances to show how feudatories appropriated for themselves the achievements of their suzerains. But the silence of Hiuen Tsiang regarding this incident is not very difficult to explain. The silence of this Chinese pilgrim could not be given great importance, as we are told that "he was not a good observer, a careful investigator or a satisfactory recorder, and subsequently he left very much untold which he would have done well to tell."[9] However, it can also be argued that this reticence was a

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[1] Vaidya, *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. I, pp. 242-3.
[2] "The Maitrakas of Valabhī," *I. H. Q.*, IV, p. 464.
[3] "Date of Harṣa-Pulıkeśin War," *A. B. O. R. I.*, XIII, p. 304.
[4] *Archæology of Gujarāt*, p. 17.
[5] "Historical Introduction," *Kāvyanuśāsana*, p. lxiv.
[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, p. 116.
[7] "The Date of Harṣa-Pulikeśin War," *Proceedings of the 3rd Indian History Congress*, pp. 596-600.
[8] Altekar, "Date of Harṣa-Pulikeśin War," *A. B. O. R. I.*, XIII, p. 304.
[9] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 15.

deliberate attempt on the part of the pilgrim to save the face of the son-in-law of Harṣa, the great protagonist of Buddhism, whose proceeding in changing suzerains in the manner he did, was not honourable, and who was thereby, according to the accepted standard of conduct, guilty of disloyalty to his liege-lord. Despite his efforts Hiuen Tsiang betrays his contempt for the man in his estimate of Dhruvasena's personality. It will be agreed that the expressions " a man of hasty temper and shallow views," are no compliments. The other arguments of Chattopadhyaya, being closely linked with these two, stand or fall with them and, therefore, need not be discussed. In a recent publication,[1] R. N. Saletore has likewise taken the defeated Valabhī king to be Dharasena IV, but has blundered palpably in assigning reasons for the opinion. He writes, " Harṣa apparently commenced his career of conquest in A.D. 606 and must have completed it by A.D. 612 when he was defeated decisively by Pulikeśin II. The only Maitraka ruler who can be placed within this period is not necessarily Dhruvasena II, Bālāditya, whose known date is G.E. 310 (A.D. 630), but rather his son and successor Dharasena IV, whose known dates are (g)s. 326, 328 and 330. Dharasena IV, obviously a name misheard by Yuan Chwang as Dhruvabhaṭa, must have been the king whom Daḍḍa II sheltered after his defeat by Harṣa." We regret to say that in arriving at these conclusions, the writer has failed to take note of the research done on these subjects[2] in recent years. Firstly, Harṣa's career of conquest, as has been demonstrated above, started not in A.D. 606 but in c. A.D. 612, as . . . Watters shrewdly guessed.[3] Secondly, his campaigns can by no means be compressed within the first six years of his rule, an inference based upon the wrong reading of the passage in Hiuen Tsiang by Watters.[4] Then again, the Maitraka king whose rule coincides with this period A.D. 606-612 is neither Dhruvasena II nor his son Dharasena IV as Saletore would have us believe, but their ancestor Śīlāditya I.

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1 *Life in the Gupta Age*, p. 74.

2 Cf. Tripathi, " A Note on a remark of Yuan Chwang," *I. H. Q.*, VIII, p. 113-16; Altekar, *op. et loc. cit.*

3 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 347.

4 Cf. Tripathi, *op. et loc. cit.*

APPENDIX G

'VAJRATA' OR THE 'VA' OF THE MANJU-SRI-MULA-KALPA

In a recent article on "Vajraṭa" Dr. N. Venkataramanayya[1] tries to identify the Vajraṭa of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records with a king mentioned in the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* whose name is said to have commenced with the syllable 'Va' (व).[2] Dr. Venkataramanayya rightly contends that the name Vajraṭa is a personal name, and that it is not found among the rulers of any of the four South Indian dynasties, viz., Kañci—Śa, the Kerala-Narādipa, the Coḷa and the Pāṇḍya, "placed in juxtaposition" to him.

He maintains that the Chālukyas came into conflict with the north Indian powers on three different occasions, viz., (*a*) Maṅgaleśa with the Kaḷachuri King Buddharāja,[3] (*b*) Pulikeśin II, with Śrī Harṣa of Kanauj,[4] (*c*) and lastly, Vinayāditya, who assisted by his son Vijayāditya, conducted a campaign into north India during the reign of Vikramāditya himself.[5] Dr. Venkataramanayya further says that Vajraṭa must have been as great and powerful a king as Śrī-Harṣa in as much as his name was considered worthy to be placed with that of the latter, and that he may have flourished subsequent to the time of Harṣa—an inference suggested by the circumstance that in the record, his name is mentioned after that of Harṣa. Hence he concludes that the conflict between the Chālukyas and Vajraṭa must have taken place after the death of Harṣa and, therefore, on the third and the last occasion when they had to deal with a north Indian power, i.e., under Vikramāditya. Consequently, the defeat referred to in the Nerur plates is the defeat inflicted on Vajraṭa :

"(His dear son) Vinayāditya—Satyāśraya, the favourite of the world—who was possessed of the *Pālidhvaja* and all the other mighty insignia of supreme dominion which he had acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north"—"(Vijayāditya), (who), his grandfather having been victorious in the region of the south, uprooted the thicket of the thorn brushes which was the assemblage of his foes, (in that direction) ; who, following the avocation of war even in front of his father who was desirous of conquering the region of the north, had the edge of his Sword worn away by splitting open the

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[1] Dr. Venkataramanayya, "Vajraṭa", *I. H. Q.*, XX, No. 2, p. 181 ff. (1944).

[2] Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 63 (S. 848), 66-67.

[3] Fleet, "The Mahākūta Pillar Inscription of Maṅgaleśa," *I. A.*, XIX, p. 19.

[4] Kielhorn, "Aihole Inscription of Pulikeśin II," *E. I.*, VI, p. 8.

[5] Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions (The Nerur Plates)," *I. A.*, IX, p. 126 ff.

foreheads of the elephants of his foes, who was in the foremost rank in all battles, who was flavoured with the quality of excellent impetuosity."[1]

The Nerur plates, however, for some unknown reason, do not disclose the name of the vanquished monarch, but rest content with calling him a *Sakal-ōttara-ādhipati*, the paramount sovereign of northern India. Dr. Venkataramanayya assigns A.D. 674 for his defeat,[2] as the north Indian expedition under Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya was conducted during Vikramāditya's conquest of the southern reign, which took place in the same year as recorded by the Gaḍvāl plates.[3]

Now with reference to the conjecture of Dr. Venkataramanayya that Vajraṭa is the same as the monarch 'Va' mentioned in the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*, it must be observed that if he accepts, as he seems to do, the identification of Dha (ध) his immediate predecessor, with Dharasena IV of the Maitraka dynasty, 'Va' does not correspond to the first syllable of the name of the successor of Dharasena, viz., Dhruvasena III. Nor is any ruler of this name, viz., Vajraṭa, known among the successors of Dharasena IV. But it is possible to argue that either Dhruvasena III or one of this successors may have borne another name which began with the syllable 'Va' just as Kharagraha who is called Chapala in the same Buddhist work.[4] Here an objection may be raised against K. P. Jayaswal's interpretation of the passage in the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*[5] in connection with the syllables 'Dha' and 'Va' as referring to the rulers of the Maitraka line. Firstly, why should the name of Rājyavardhana be introduced so abruptly in discussing the later Gupta chronology, while the change of dynasty is not indicated in the passage? Then again, why should Rājyavardhana's name alone be given in full, while the rulers in the preceding as well as in the following verses are referred to with the first syllable of their names only? The inconsistency of style causes one to doubt the correctness of the meaning given by Jayaswal to the word 'rājyavardhana' as used in the context. We have no definite proof to say that the line of the Guptas became extinct with Vajra (i.e., 'Va' of the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa*), the son of Bhānugupta, and hence there is no reason to assume that Rājyavardhana's name is inserted as their successor. True, Hiuen Tsiang stops with the name of Vajra, but he does not say that the latter was

[1] Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, IX, pp. 127-128.
"सकलोत्तरापथनाथ मथनोपार्जित पालिध्वजादि समस्तपारमैश्वर्यचिह्नस्य विनयादित्य सत्याश्रय श्रीपृथिवीवल्लभ-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-भट्टारकः ।"
"दक्षिणाशविजयिनि पितामहे समुन्मुलित निखिल-कराटकसंहतिरुत्तरापथ-विजिगीषोग्गुरोर्ग्रति प्रवहत-व्यापारमचरन्नरातिगजघटापाटन-विशिर्य्यमाण-कृपाणधारः समग्रविग्रहग्रसरः सत्साहसरसिकः ।

[2] Hultzsch, "Gadvā Plates of Vikramāditya I, A.D. 674," *E. I.*, X, p. 102 ff.

[3] Venkataramanayya, *art. cit.*

[4] Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[5] Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 66.

the last ruler of the dynasty. He actually mentions one more king after Vajra though he does not specify his name.[1] Moreover, it is well known that the Chinese pilgrim included in his list the names of those kings only who had constructed Vihāras at Nālandā. But the most surprising thing of all if Jayaswal's interpretation of the passage be accepted, would be the omission in the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* of the more important ruler Harṣa while mentioning the less important Rājyavardhana.

These difficulties created by Jayaswal's rendering will be settled if the passage in question be interpreted as[2]:

" His (Pa's) younger brother 'Va' will solemnly become a king for three years and one, and he *will expand the limits of his kingdom;* and even though both (Pa and Va) were young they died being attacked with acute faints and both attained Yakṣahood." instead of : " After 'P', 'Bh' became king for 3 years. His (Pa's) younger brother (or descendant) V (Vajra) solemnly become a king, he ruled for 3 years," and " *Rājyavardhana* will be king for 1 year. Both these kings (V and Rājavardhana) had sudden and unnatural ending," as translated by Jayaswal.[3]

Thus if the above interpretation is accepted and the Puṣpabhūti dynasty dropped from the context, the question of 'Dha' or 'Va' succeeding Rājya-vardhana or Harṣa, will not arise. And in this case the kings represented by these syllables will not refer to the Maitraka dynasty. Even as it is, Dharasena IV cannot be taken to be the descendant of Rājyavardhana, the brother of his supposed grandfather Harṣa. Finally, the respective attributes of these two rulers 'Dha' and 'Va' if they are regarded as Maitrakas do not correspond to the known history of Dharasena IV and his successor Dhruvasena III. For according to the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* 'Dha' who is not referred to by any *biruda* was less powerful than 'Va' who " will be ruler over the whole country an All-India Emperor (Sarva-bhūmikā-bhūpati)."[4] While according to the authentic history of the Maitrakas it was the other way about, viz., Dharasena IV was a Chakravati ruler and Dhruvasena III was only a Mahārāja.[5]

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1 Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 111; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 165; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 170.

2 I am indebted to Dr. H. G. Shāstri for the above translation of the following passage:

तस्याप्यनुजो वकाराख्यो व्रतिना समधिष्ठितः ।
त्रीणि वर्षाणिएक च भविता राज्यवर्ध्धनः ॥ ८४४ ॥
अज र्णितो उभावप्येतौ मद्यार्तिमारमूर्च्छितौ ।
कालगतौ लोके यक्षेभ्योपपद्यते " ॥ ८४५ ॥

3 Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 66, that the word 'rājyavardhana' taken as an adjective instead of a noun explains the difficulties presented above.

4 Jayaswal, *loc. cit.*

5 Fleet, " Aliṇā Copper-plate Grant of Śilāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 171 ff.

Finally Dr. Venkataramanayya, for all his theorizing about Vajraṭa seems to be ignorant about the important fact that Vajraṭa is mentioned in the Nāsik plates (20th March 666) of the Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁhavarman. According to this inscription Jayasiṁha, with his bright-tipped arrows, defeated and exterminated the whole army of Vajjada in the country between the Mahi and the Narmadā.[1] And Prof. Mirashi seems to be right in his suggestion that Vajjada " is clearly a corrupt form of some Sanskrit name like Vajraṭa or Vajrabhaṭa " and that though the Rāṣṭrakūta records name him as Vajraṭa, " they belonged to a much later age."[2] But it is clear that Vajraṭa was in some way related to the Maitrakas for the simple reason that the territory in which he met his defeat, is contiguous to, nay partly included in the Maitraka dominions. And the defeat, therefore, must have taken place not in A.D. 674 as Dr. Venkataramanayya suggests, but some time before A.D. 666 when the Nāsik plates of the Chālukya prince Dharāśraya-Jayasiṁha were issued.

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[1] Khare, " The Nāsik Plates of Jayasiṁha," *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan*, I, p. 8 ff. (lines 9-13).

" महीनर्म्मदान्तराल (ले) धवलफलशिलीमुखजविजितविनिहतवज्जडसमस्त सैन्या (न्य·)
हरपार्व्वतीयनाटककरणवि...श्विवभट्टारका (ट्टारक) भिक्षवय च्चंनमुद्राविधानमु-
स्तुणितकरत ला (ल) जूलि: परभप्र:...च्य: भातापितृश्रीमदनिवारितपदानुध्यातो-
धराश्रयश्री जयसिंहवर्म्मराज: ... ॥

[2] Mirashi, " New Light on the Mediæval History of Gujarat," *Ācārya-Pūṣpāñiali Volume*, p. 58.

PART II

CULTURE

CHAPTER I

SOCIETY

THE history of Valabhīpura and specially the history of the Maitrakas would be incomplete, if some mention is not made of the life of the people in the social, economic and religious spheres. To understand this, it is very essential to give a brief sketch of the institutions that formed the basis of social life.

The caste system ever strong and rigid in India formed the basis of society, which was divided into four main castes, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra.[1] The caste system as it prevailed in the Maitraka period is thus described by Hiuen Tsiang: "There are four orders of hereditary clan distinctions. The first is that of the Brāhmins or 'purely living'; these keep their principles and live continently, strictly observing ceremonial purity. The second order is that of the Kṣatriyas, the race of kings; this order has held sovereignty for many generations, and its aims are benevolence and mercy. The third order is that of the Vaiśyas or class of traders, who barter commodities, and pursue gain far and near. The fourth class is that of the Śūdras or agriculturists; these toil at cultivating the soil and are industrious at sowing and reaping. These four castes form classes of various degrees of ceremonial purity."[2] It was regarded as the bounden duty of the rulers to see to the proper working of the caste system, so that the duties assigned to each caste may be carried out by the members of that caste without being interfered with by the members of other castes. Accordingly the Maitraka records speak of their monarchs as having "properly regulated the practices of the different castes and stages of life."[3]

Of these four castes the Brāhmaṇas stood at the head of all. They were highly respected and were as a rule more learned than the rest of the society. The Smṛtis laid down as a matter of principle that it was the duty of a king to support the *Srōtriyas* (i.e., learned Brāhmaṇas),[4] and in the Dharmaśāstras great importance was attached to gifts of permanent character made to the Brāhmaṇas which were termed *atidānas* or gifts of great value.[5] These were made on auspicious occasions such as the first day of each *ayana* (i.e., the Sun's passage to the north or south) the day when an eclipse of the sun or moon occurred, a new moon day or *amāvāsya*, a *sadāsita*, etc.[6] Naturally the

[1] *Arthaśāstra*, I, Ch. III, pp. 6-7; *Manu*, Ch. I, pp. 88-90.

[2] Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 168; Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 82.

[3] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 185. This is said with special reference to Kharagraha II.

[4] *Yajnavalkya*, III, 414.

[5] Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 837-88. That the *punya* attributed to the gift of land is of 1000 *asvamedha*, 100 *rājasu* and 100 *kanyādāna*

[6] Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 852.

Maitraka kings paid due respect to the Brāhmaṇas. They rewarded them with grants of land, and even assignments on the state revenue.[1] For instance, it is recorded of Dharasena II that for the purpose of increasing the religious merit of his parents, and that he himself might reap the reward of good action, he made a grant to the Brāhmaṇa Rudrabhūti, consisting of pieces of land in several villages, irrigation wells, and certain taxes including the right to forced labour.[2] In return for these privileges and exemptions, which they enjoyed, the Brāhmanas were expected to discharge certain duties to the state. In the law books these duties are stated as study and teaching of the Vedas as well as profane learning, and also performance of religious rites.[3] These rites were usually the five *Mahāyajñas*,[4] viz., the *Bhūta-yajña*, the *Manuṣyayajña*, the *Pitryajña*, the *Daiva-yajña* and the *Brahmayajña*.[5] The main items of expense incurred in performing these Mahāyajñas and which have been enumerated in the Maitraka records are *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*,[6] *agñihotra* and *atithi*.[7] Bali evidently represented *śrāddha* (i.e., where rice-balls, etc., are offered to the Manes) offered in the *Bhūtayajña*[8]; *atithi* was associated with the *Manuṣyayajña* which consisted in honouring guests[9]; *Vaiśvadeva* was connected with the *Daivayajña* at which *hōma* was offered to all the gods (viśvedevah); *Charu* was presumably the oblation of rice offered in the *pitṛyajña*, which according to the texts may partake of *tarpaṇa*, *śrāddha* or *bali* to the manes[10]; while the study of the vedas which the Brāhmaṇas were required to pursue, in itself amounted to a sacrifice which was termed *Brahmayajña*, (i.e., *svādhyāya* or one's own study).[11] The *agñihotra* was a daily observance to be performed with the offerings of cow's milk to *agñi* and prajāpati. Though not included in the five Mahāyajñas, the morning *hōma* was an indispensable preliminary, which had to be performed before the commencement of any of the five rites. But it was not all the Brāhmaṇas that were entitled to this state bounty. For according to Manu and others, a

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[1] The system of giving regular grants to the Brāhmaṇas was started by the Guptas and the Traikuṭakas. We are told that Chakrapālita, a Gupta officer, before commencing to repair the dam of the Sudarśana lake, first gave a gift to the Brāhmaṇas. Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-65.

[2] Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 170; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 80, 84, 21, 42, etc. Instances of this kind may be multiplied.

[3] *Manu*, I, 88-91; X, 74-80; *Yaj.*, I, 118-119; cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, Pt. I, Ch. 3.

[4] Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 170; Bühler, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 16; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 21, 42, 80, 84, etc. The Pañchamahāyajñas were the daily observances prescribed from very early times, the earliest reference being found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XI, 5, 6, 7.

[5] Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*, I, p. 696.

[6] Fleet, *op. et loc. cit;* Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

[7] The Vaiśvadeva is also called a midday sandhyā in the *Dharmasindhu*, III, p. 299.

[8] Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 698.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Manu*, III, 70.

[11] Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 696.

Brāhmaṇa who is like a cat or a hypocrite or one who does not know the Vedas, is unfit for receiving a grant.[1] Nor were the Brāhmaṇas concerned with religious duties alone. There were, besides, other learned avocations which they could follow. Some of them were physicians,[2] others astrologers,[3] while the most learned were appointed to ministerial and other administrative offices.[4] But as a rule they took no part in the industrial life of the country and lived as non-economic men concerned, for the most part, with spiritual and literary matters, and it was to their care that the intellectual life of the country was committed. But the Brāhmaṇas on occasions, also took to the profession of arms, and when successful even founded kingdoms.[5] An instance in point is the Brāhmaṇa king of Ujjaini mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang,[6] another is that of Hariśchandra, the first known king of the Gurjaradeśa.[7] But such Brāhmaṇas usually merged in the Kṣatriya caste by freely marrying into the existing Kṣatriya ruling houses.

There were several gōtras among the Brāhmaṇas, the following being the most commonly met with in the Maitraka records: Śāṇḍilya-gotra,[8] Vajagaṇa-gotra,[9] Droṇāyana-gotra,[10] Sunaka-gotra,[11] Jābāla-gōtra,[12] Kapiṣṭala-gōtra,[13] Āreya-gōtra,[14] Kairādi-gōtra,[15] Tāpasa-gōtra,[16] Traivālambaya-gōtra,[17] Vatsa-gōtra,[18] Bhāragava-gotra,[19] Aupasvati-gotra,[20] Bhārdwāja-gotra,[21] Kāśyapa-gotra,[22] Kauśaravasa-gotra,[23] Kauśika-gotra,[24] Andarśani-gotra.[25]

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[1] *Manu*, 4, 193, 200; *Vrddha Gautama*, III, pp. 508-509; cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp 845-6.

[2] Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Bühler, "Further Valabhī Grants," *I. A.*, VI, p. 9 ; Ojha, "Vadnagar Praśasti," *E. I.*, I, p. 293.

[5] Munshi, *The Glory that was Gurjaradeśa*, p 22 ff.

[6] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 271.

[7] Hœrnle, "Pratihara Banka," *J R A. S*, 1894, pp. 4-9; 1895, 516-8, cf Munshi, *op. cit.*, Pt. III, p. 36.

[8] Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 17, 43, 44, 88.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 18.

[10] *Ibid.*, No. 19, *I. A.*, V, p. 204.

[11] *Ibid.*, No. 12.

[12] *Ibid.*, No. 23; Sten Konow, "Five Valabhi Plates," *E. I.*, XI, p. 109.

[13] *Ibid.*, No. 65; Diskalkar, "Some Unpublished Copper-plates of the Rulers of Valabhi," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), I, p. 51.

[14] *Ibid.*, No. 24.

[15] Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VIII, p. 305.

[16] Diskalkar, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 305; *J. B. A. S*, VII, p. 172.

[17] Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions," *I. A.*, VIII, p. 305.

[18] Fleet, *op. cit.*, XIII, p. 160 ; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, I, p. 73: *C. I. I.*, III, p. 170.

[19] Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 25, 38.

[20] *Ibid.*, No. 26.

[21] *Ibid.*, Nos. 29, 55, 64, 74, 77.

[22] *Ibid.*, No. 39.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*, Nos. 42, 50, 68, 81, 92.

[25] *Ibid.*, No. 58; Gadre, *J. U. B.*, III, p. 187.

Vājasaneyi-Kānavya-gotra,[1] Sārkkarāksi-gotra,[2] Daunavaya-gotra,[3] Gārgya-gotra,[4] Parāsara-gotra[5], etc. These Brāhmanas, according as the gotras and the branch to which they belonged, studied some particular Saṁhitā of a veda. Most of them studied the Bahvṛch Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda, the Maitrāyaṇika Saṁhitā of the Kṛṣṇa-Yajurveda, Madhāndina-vajasaneyī Saṁhitā of the Śukla-Yajurveda, Kauthum Chhaṅdōga Saṁhitā of the Śaṁveda and the Ātharvaṇa Saṁhitā of the Atharvaveda.[6] But the Śukla-Yajuṛ-veda and the Sāma-veda seem to have been most popular in Kāṭhiāwād, while in the north-east around Ānandapura, it was the Ṛgveda and Sāmaveda that were most studied. This did not mean, however, that the other vedas were neglected. For the " tachchaturvidyā-samānya,"[7] which often recurs in the Maitraka grants indicates that almost all the important towns were centres where all the four vedas were taught.

The Kṣatriyas were the ruling class of the realm. They received a military education, and since the word implies protection,[8] it was conceived as their chief duty to defend the country from external aggression and internal trouble. " The duty of the Kṣhatriya," says the Arthaśāstra, " is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, military occupation, and protection of life."[9] The same is also the view of Manu, who would have the Kṣatriya protect the people, bestow gifts, offer sacrifices, study the veda and abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures.[10] The Kṣatriyas provided the administration with the necessary personnel and the army with the soldiery. According to Hiuen Tsiang, the sovereign *de jure* should always be of the Kṣatriya caste, and it was that caste alone which could lawfully produce a king, though instances have not been lacking of men of other castes assuming the crown: " The succession of kings is confined to the Kshatriya (T'sa-li) caste who by usurpation and bloodshed have from time to time raised themselves to power."[11] Their chief merit, however, was their prowess. Just as the seniority of the Brahmanas, observes Manu, is from knowledge, so that of the Kṣatriya is from valour.[12] The army was recruited from the bravest of the people and as their profession was hereditary the soldiers become adepts in military tactics.[13]

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1 Acharya, *op cit.*, No. 42.
2 *Ibid.*, Nos. 49, 72, 76, 96.
3 *Ibid.*, No. 82.
4 *Ibid.*, Nos. 79, 83, 93, 94.
5 *Ibid.*, Nos. 68, 69, 73, 95.
6 Winternitz, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, I, pp. 57, 119 ff.
7 Acharya, " Aṇastu Plates of Śīlāditya, III," *op. cit.*, III; *Buddhiprakāśa*, 1941, p. 111 ff.
8 *Manu*, II, 31.
9 *Arthaśāstra*, I, 3, 7.
10 *Manu*, I, 89.
11 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 171.
12 *Manu*, I, 155.
13 Beal, *op. et loc. cit.;* Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

In times of peace they guarded the sovereign's residence and in wartime they became the intrepid vanguard.[1] An idea of the military education of the Kṣatriyas may perhaps be obtained, if an attempt is made to visualize what the armies of those days were like, and what tactics they followed. It may be gathered from Hiuen Tsiang that the army during the Maitraka period still consisted of the four classical arms, "elephantry," cavalry, infantry, and the chariots.[2] Indeed, the Maitraka records show that the elephants formed the chief body of the army of their times. The Maitraka rulers, Śīlāditya III and Śīlāditya IV, are actually described as parting asunder in battle the elephants of their enemies, and splitting open their temples by the powerful blows of their swords.[3] It is no wonder then that Kauṭilya counsels: Elephants serviceable in war "shall be kept inside the fort; and those that are still being tamed or are of bad temper shall be kept outside,"[4] and prescribes elaborate rules for the times of their bath, food, exercise, drink, sleep, and rest.[5] Military training of these war-elephants consisted of seven kinds: drill (upasthāna), turning (saṁvartana), advancing (samyāna), trampling down and killing (vadhāvadha), fighting with other elephants (hastiyuddha), assailing forts and cities (nagarayanam), and warfare (sāngrāmikaṁ).[6] The military elephants, again, according to Kauṭilya, were equipped with such war accoutrements as mail, armour (varma), clubs (totra), arrow bags, and machines.[7] During a campaigṅ these beasts were to be looked after by the elephant doctors and trainers, negligence of duty (viz., not to clean the stables, to fail to supply grass, cause the animal to lie down on hard and unprepared ground, strike it on vital parts of its body, permit a stranger to ride over it or ride it at odd times, lead it through impassable places and allow it to enter into thick forests) on whose part was severely punished.[8]

Since the immigration of the Āryans in India the horse was recognized as an important war implement to supplement the efforts of man on the battlefield.[9] By the time of the Mahābhārata it had a recognized position in the army as could be seen from the agile horsemen scattered among the fighting hordes, accomplishing a sound victory over the infantry when, especially, the heavy chariots and elephants were rendered useless.[10] By the time of Alexander's invasion the cavalry also, like the elephants, took an important rank in the organisation of the army. Arrian, for example, describes the

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1 Beal, *op. et loc. cit.*; Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*
2 *Ibid.*
3 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 185 (lines 47-51).
4 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 136.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*, pp. 137-8.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
8 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
9 Dikshitar, *War in Ancient India*, pp. 174-9.
10 *Mah.* IX, 23, 60.

Assakemans as having possessed a force of 20,000 horse[1] and Porus having 4,000 of them.[2] That the horse was very scientifically used in the army during the early days could very well be seen from the different positions assigned to this force in the different military arrays, as is shown by Kauṭilya in his Arthaśāstra.[3] It is, however, at the hands of Sōmadeva that the horse receives its due praise when the author says that " enemies situated at a distance are drawn nearer with the help of a horse. In difficulty a horse gives sufficient relief."[4] According to Hiuen Tsiang, " The cavalry spread themselves in front to resist an attack."[5] Cavalry which, according to the classical writers, raised terrific dust to prolific heights while running with great speed, was thus the vanguard of the ancient Indian army of the time of the Maitrakas. And as could be seen from the paintings of Ajanṭā,[6] these soldiers mounted on horseback wore typical military costumes and possessed long lances which were generally held by them in their right hands. While on the actual battlefield, they put on armours and helmets.[7]

Out of the four component parts, the foot had become, from the very early times, an indispensable part of the army. Porus possessed 30,000 efficient infantry,[8] and there was, as Strabo mentions, a special board to look after them.[9] The importance of the infantry could also be very well seen from Megasthenes's mention of huge numbers in the different army divisions. According to him the Calingæ had 60,000 foot, the Modogalingæ and other tribes, 30,000, the Andaræ, 1,00,000, the Prasii, 6,00,000, the Antamela, 1,50,000, the Pandæ 1,50,000, an island in the Ganges, 50,000, and the Gangaridæ, 60,000.[10] And in later times, as could be seen from the Śūkranīti, the infantry was fixed to be four times the cavalry.[11]

Even as early as in the days of Chandragupta Maurya, the army was divided into different units accordingly as it was hereditary (maula), mercenary (bhṛtaka), corporations of soldiers (śreṇi), troops belonging to a friend or foe (mitrāmitra balam), and wild tribes.[12] This practice was closely adhered to by the Maitraka rulers.[13]

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1 *Invasion of Alexander*, p. 65 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
3 *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. X, Ch. VI.
4 *Nīti Vākyāmṛta*, p. 84.
5 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83.
6 Cf. Cave, XVII.
7 Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
8 M'Crindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 102 ff.
9 M'Crindle, *Ancient Indta in Classical Literature*, p. 55.
10 Bostock and Rilay, *The Natural History of Pliny*, II, p. 44.
11 *Śukraniti*, p. 218.
12 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 342; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
13 Fleet, *op. cit.* (38), p. 165, line 2.

But it must be observed that it was not the Kṣtriyas alone that made up the army. In the vedic period, the Kṣatriyas, though they made it a special vocation to fight and protect their own people from the attacks of the enemies never constituted the whole army. They acted as "leaders or officers rather than the rank and file."[1] This social superiority of the Kṣatriyas as a fighting caste continued till the Maurya period when the position of the Kṣatriyas in the army was even shared by the members of the other castes, Chandragupta Maurya belonging to a caste lower than the Kṣatriya, being a noteworthy example. And even later on it was the ability rather than the caste that decided the commissions in the militia.[2] Hiuen Tsiang seems to be supporting this contention when he states that "the sovereignty for many successive generations has been exercised only by Kṣatriyas: rebellion and regicide have occasionally arisen, other castes assuming the distinction."[3]

According to the Arthaśāstra "for every ten members of each of the constituents of the army, there must be one commander, called *padika*, ten *padikas* under a *senāpati*, and ten *senāpatis* under a *nāyaka*."[4] But in the later period, with the advance of the art of warfare, this division of command seems to have become more scientific. According to Śukra, for instance, the lowest grade of the military officers was a sergeant of six foot soldiers (paṭṭipala); a lieutenant (gaulimika) over thirty soldiers: the captain over a troop of a hundred soldiers and so called *śatānika;* then came the *sāhasrika* and the *āyutika* with their power over a thousand and ten thousand soldiers respectively, as their names indicate. And over all these officials was the *sachiria*, 'war secretary'.[5] who "had to keep himself informed of the state of national defence, and to communicate the results of his inspection to the king through the crown prince."[6]

This class of soldiers is well described by the Chinese travellers: "The infantry by their quick movements contribute to the defence. These are chosen for their courage and strength. They carry a long spear and a great shield; sometimes they hold a sword or sabre, and advance to the front with impetuosity. All their weapons of war are sharp and pointed. Some of them are these—spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins, and various kinds of slings,"[7] which they have been using for ages.

The last arm in which the Kṣtriya trained himself was the chariot, a very important apparatus of war. It was from the chariot that the leader of the

1 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, I, p. 202 ff.
2 Cf. *Śukranīti*, pp. 78, 101.
3 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 170.
4 *Arthaśāstra*, p. 377.
5 Cf. *Sukranīti*, pp. 78-79.
6 Date, *op. cit.*, p. 62.
7 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83.

army gave commands, whilst two attendants on each of the sides drove the chariot drawn by four horses.[1] According to Hiuen Tsiang, " The general of the soldiers remains in his chariot; he is surrounded by a file of guards who keep close to his chariot wheels."[2]

The third estate consisted of the merchant class, who went under the designation of Vaiśyas. According to the Arthaśāstra, the duty of a Vaiśya " is study, performance of sacrifice, giving gifts, agriculture, cattle-breeding, and trade."[3] Manu's views are identical, except that he would add to the duties already mentioned, that of lending money.[4] All the Dharmaśāstras agree that the sum total of the attributes of the Vaiśya class is honest trade.[5] Fa Hien on his visit to India observed that the Vaiśyas lived in opulent circumstances. " In the city," he says, " there are many Vaiśya elders, and sabæan merchants, whose houses are stately and beautiful."[6] The merchant class, according to Hiuen Tsiang, engaged in commercial exchange and followed profit at home and abroad.[7] Naturally, great wealth accumulated in the hands of this class, which often lavished it on charitable purposes. Fa Hien has recorded how " the heads of the Vaiśyas built vihāras for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and their cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal."[8] At Valabhī itself we have notable instances of their munificence. Two rich merchants Kakka and Ajjita were responsible for the building of the two vihāras, which were named after them.[9] There was also a practice which was almost invariably observed by this class of making offerings before they attended to their family affairs.[10] But their charity did not stop at the religious mendicants. They established orphanages where the poor were fed and their ailments treated free of charge. " All the poor and destitute in the country," to quote Fa Hien again, " orphans, widowers, and childless men, maimed people and cripples, and all who are diseased, go to those houses, and are provided with every kind of help, and doctors examine their diseases. They get food and medicines which their cases require, and are made to feel at ease; and when they are better, they go away of themselves."[11]

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1 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 83.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Arthaśāstra*, I, 3, 7.

4 *Manu*, I, 90.

5 Valavalkar, *Hindu Social Institutions*, pp. 299-301.

6 Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

7 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, 82.

8 Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

9 Gadre, " Five Vaḷā Copper-plate Grants," *J. U. B.*, III, p. 79; Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, *N. S. I.*, p. 68.

10 Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 79.

The fourth class was that of the Śūdras. It consisted of the labourers and the agriculturists.[1] Their duty was to serve the other three classes and thus obtain their livelihood. " One occupation only the Lord prescribed to the Śūdras," says Manu, " to serve meekly even these (other) three castes."[2] According to the Śāntiparva the Śūdra, created " as the servant of the other three *varṇas* " should never amass wealth (samchayam) for himself, for then " he makes the members of the three superior orders obedient to him."[3] Hence whatever he possessed belonged to his master, whose duty it was to maintain him.[4] The Śūdra was further required to marry in his own caste[5]; nor was the recitation of the *Vedic mantras*, *svadhā*, *svāhā*, *vasaṭ*, etc., allowed to him.[6] Kautilya describes his occupation as " agriculture, cattle breeding, and trade (vārtā), the profession of artizans and court-bards."[7]

The chaṇḍālas were presumably the lower order of the Śūdra caste. The Arthaśāstra prescribes that " Heretics and Chandalas shall live beyond the burial grounds."[8] Hiuen Tsiang saw these unfortunate people actually forced to live outside the towns, and includes among them butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers.[9] According to Fa Hien, " When they enter the gate of a city or a market-place, they strike a piece of wood to make themselves known, so that men know and avoid them."[10] Bāṇa has left a gruesome, though exaggerated description of a typical Chaṇḍāla colony: " It was surrounded on all sides by boys engaged in the chase, unleasing their hounds, teaching their falcons, mending snares, carrying weapons, and fishing, horrible in their attire, like demoniacs. Here and there the entrance to their dwellings, hidden by thick bamboo forests, was to be inferred from the rising of smoke of orpiment. On all sides the enclosures were made with skulls; the dust heaps in the roads were filled with bones: the yards of the huts were miry with blood; fat, meat chopped up. The life here consisted of hunting; the food, of flesh; the ointment, of fat; the garments, of coarse silk; the couches, of dried skins; the household attendants, of dogs; the animals for riding, of cows; the men's employment, of wine and women; the oblation to the gods, of blood; the sacrifice, of cattle. The place was the very image of all hells."[11] The Chaṇḍālas were thus the scum of the Hindu society.

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1 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82.

2 *Manu*, I, 91.

3 *Śāntiparva*, 60, 8-29; cf. Valavalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Yaj.*, I, p. 121.

6 *Śukranīti*, 66-8, p. 168.

7 *Arthaśāstra*, I, 3, 7.

8 *Ibid.*, II, 3, 59.

9 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 74.

10 Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

11 Bāna, *Kadambari*, pp. 204-5.

As a rule one married in one's own caste, though inter-caste marriages were not quite unknown. Hiuen Tsiang observed that there were several classes of people who inter-married.[1] Such marriages were frequent specially among royalty,[2] an instance in point being the marriage of Grahavarman and Rājaśrī, who were respectively Kṣatriya and Vaiśya by caste,[3] or that of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena II with Harṣa's daughter.[4] The rule generally followed with regard to inter-caste marriage was that a man could take unto himself a wife of a lower caste,[5] but not of a higher caste than himself. The first was called *anuloma*, and was licit, while the second which was called *pratiloma* had no sanction in the Dharmaśāstras.[6]

Marriage in the case of boys took place when they had completed their studies and were about to enter the grahasthāśrama. According to Vātsāyana a person should enter the householder's order only when he completed his studies, and lived the life of a citizen.[7] The girls were given in marriage generally after the attainment of puberty.[8] Eight forms of marriages are known to the Dharmaśāstras: Brāhma, Daiva, Ārṣa, Prājāpatya, Āsura, Gāndharva, Rākṣas and Piśacha.[9] The Brāhma form consisted of the gift of a daughter by her father to a man of good character and learned in the Vedas, after adorning her with ornaments. The Daiva form meant the offering of a daughter to a priest in the course of a sacrifice which he is himself performing. The Ārṣa form consisted in giving a daughter in marriage to a bridegroom after receiving a cow or a bull or two pairs of these from him. In the Prājāpatya form a father made a gift of the daughter by addressing the couple with the words: "May both of you perform together your duties."[10] In the Āsura form the bride was exchanged for a monetary consideration. The Gāndharva form approached the western ideal of marriage, in which mutual consent was the only condition. In the Rākṣas form the bride was forcibly abducted from her home, weeping and wailing, after her kinsmen had been put to the sword. When the girl was seduced the resulting union was described as the Paiśācha form of marriage. It will be noticed that except in the Gāndharva form the girls enjoyed little freedom in the choice of their partners. The match was settled by the parents and the day of the wedding was fixed in consultation with the astrologers.[11] On that day the bridegroom came to the house of the bride and was received

1 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82.

2 Bāṇa, *Harṣacharita*, p. 128; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 209.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, I, p. 209, II, p. 267.

5 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

6 *Yāj.*, I, 120; *Śukranīti*, 72, p. 164.

7 *Kāmasūtra*, I, 4, 1.

8 *Ibid.*, III, 4, 36; Bāṇa, *op. et loc. cit.*; *Manu*, IX, 93, 90; *Yaj.*, I, 64.

9 *Yaj.*, I, 123; *Manu*, III, 21.

10 *Yaj.*, I, 125.

11 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

with due ceremony by the father-in-law and his party.[1] He was offered *arghya* and taken to the *Kantuka-gṛha* where the marriage ceremony took place.[2] It was customary for the bridegroom to stay at the place of the bride for ten days.[3]

Further, the Dharmaśāstras prescribed,[4] and custom conformed to the prescription that widows should not be permitted to remarry, a prohibition borne out by the observation of Hiuen Tsiang who writes, " a woman never contracts a second marriage."[5] But curiously enough, custom, so stringent in the case of women, relaxed its severity when it came to men who were allowed to take more than one wife at the same time.[6] Worse still, the practice had already become firmly established of widows immolating themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands.[7] But it is pleasant to observe that in the Maitraka period social reformers were beginning to raise their voice against this inhuman practice. Bāna, for instance, condemns it in no uncertain terms, when he writes, " to die after one's beloved is the most fruitless. It is the custom followed by the foolish. It does not do any good whatever to the dead person. . . . On the other hand, by surviving the deceased, one can do much good to both oneself and to the departed by offering prescribed oblations for his happiness in the other world."[8]

These dark patches apart, it is possible to infer from the contemporary accounts of it we have from travellers that the Maitraka kingdom partook of the country-wide improvement in the standard of living which came in in the wake of the Gupta rule.[9] The Chinese pilgrims seem to have been impressed by the opulence of the people in general. Hiuen Tsiang noticed that the towns and the villages were enclosed by walls which were high and wide with towers of wood or bamboo at intervals.[10] The streets and lanes were winding and tortuous and were lined with shops on either side.[11] He, however, had no high opinion of the social hygiene of our people, since he observes that the " thoroughfares are dirty."[12] The houses had balconies and belvederes made

1 Bāṇa, *op cit.*, p. 128.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 130.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 131.

4 *Yaj.*, I, 93.

5 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 168; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 82.

6 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Tod, *Annals of Rājasthān*, I, p. 230.

7 The practice of *sati* existed even in the Mahābhārata time and is referred to by the writers Vātsāyana, Kālidasa, Bāṇa, Daṇḍin and others. The Eran stone inscription also records an instance of *sati* in the period, cf. Fleet, *op. cit.* (26), p. 93.

8 Bāṇa, *Kadambari*, (text), p. 308; cf. Saletore, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-5.

9 Motichandra, " The History of the Costumes from the 3rd to the end of the 7th century A.D.," *J. I. S. O. A.*, XII, pp. 1-3.

10 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

of wood with a coating of lime or mortar and covered with tiles.[1] They were thatched with rushes, dry branches, tiles or boards.[2] Their walls were of wattled bamboo or wood,[3] and they were plastered with chunam.[4] The floor, as is usual in Indian houses even today, was dabbed with cow-dung, and the custom prevailed of strewing them with flowers according to the season.[5] These houses had terraces which were used for purposes of sleeping on hot summer nights.[6] The furniture consisted of rattan cane-chairs,[7] corded benches,[8] bamboo couch[9] and so forth.

The upper classes in the kingdom appear to have been well dressed. Their clothing was made of a variety of material. Hiuen Tsiang arranges it into four groups and observes that " the names for their clothing materials are Kiao-she-ye (Kau-sheya) and muslin (tieh) and calico (pu), kausheya being silk from a wild silk-worm[10]; Ch'u (or ch'u)-mo (Kshauma), a kind of linen; Han (or kan)-po-lo (Kambala) a texture of fine wool (sheep's wool or goat's hair), and Ho-la-li (Ral?) a texture made from the wool of a wild animal—this wool being fine and soft and easily spun and woven is prized as a material for clothing."[11] It is interesting to note that the Kauśeya type of cloth is also referred to in the works of Kālidāsa and it would appear to be a type of silk. But besides, there was also another variety, which is mentioned by Bāṇa under the name of bark yellow silk.[12] This variety is also referred to in the account of I-Tsing.[13] Calico and linen were probably manufactured from flax (kṣuma), jute (śana) or hemp (bhaṅga). To these may be added the heavy brocade known as ' *Kinkhāb* ', which was famous as ' puṣpapaṭṭa '.[14]

These materials, rich and artistic as they were, were rendered more attractive by printing, painting and colouring. Numerous designs were used such as chequers, stripes, swans, etc., designs which in the course of the ages became

1 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 73.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Ibid.*

6 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-8.

7 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

8 Beal, *op. cit.*, I, 75; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147. Hiuen Tsiang while writing about the corded benches says: " The royal family, the grandees, officials and gentry adorn their benches in different ways," and further " adorn them with precious substances." Watters, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 147-148.

9 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

10 Hiuen Tsiang's statement that the silk Kauśeya was from the wildworm does not seem right, as Kauśeya in the *Amarakōśa* (II, 6, 111) stands for all types of silk obtained from cocoons, wild or cultured as stated by Mr. Motichandra (*op. cit.*, XII, p. 13).

11 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75.

12 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

13 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 55.

14 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 85; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 15.

the traditional patterns of the calico printers.[1] Hiuen Tsiang speaks of the striped manufactures at Mathura.[2] Though we have not come across any direct mention of tye-dyeing, the Maitraka kingdom must have been already celebrated for it, since Gujarāt, Cutch and Rajputānā have from times immemorial been famous for their tye-dyed clothes known as 'bāndhaṇi' or 'chundaḍi'.[3] It must, however, be observed that Bāṇa does refer to ladies' blouses under the name of 'pulaka bandhana', and by this he probably means the tye-dyed clothes.

From the earliest times, men's attire consisted of 'dhōti', 'dupaṭṭā' and turban,[4] all of which were unstitched,[5] justifying the observation of Hiuen Tsiang that "the inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring,"[6] and again "their clothing is not cut or fashioned."[7] But the contact with foreigners like the Indo-Greeks, the Kuśāna, the Scythians and the Śakas was not without influence on clothes, and it is to this influence that we should attribute the appearance of coats, tunics and trousers in ancient India.[8] These may be seen in the effigies of the Gupta emperors on some of their coins.[9] But the Ajantā paintings which may be assigned to the same age show that the official court dress was based on the old style.[10] The members of the nobility wore their 'dhotis' in a graceful manner, and as Dr. Motichandra has remarked their "artistic arrangements of pleats and folds prove that the wearers were not unaware of the æsthetics of dressing."[11] They also used a shawl which covered their shoulders and was rolled round on the left arm and flung back in firm folds which were firmly held fast by a heavy tassel. A 'Kamarabhandha' or a waist-band either laced or plain was worn round the waist, and it was in this that their 'dhoti' was held.[12] Its loop, of which the efficiency of the dice-makers has left a minute portrait, was on the left and the ends falling on the ground.[13] Further details about the 'dhōtis' of

1 Motichandra, "The History of Indian Costumes from the 3rd to the end of the 7th century," *J. I. S. O. A.*, XII, p. 9. This is a most valuable study based upon archæological, numismatic and literary material as well as the far-famed paintings of Ajantā.

2 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 301.

3 Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 14.

4 Cf. *Ibid.*, pp. 21, 44.

5 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 75.

6 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148.

7 Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

8 Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 43; Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta Dynasty and Śaśānka king of Gauda* (1914), Pt. I, pp. 11-17.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Griffiths, *Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajanta*, p. 49.

11 Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 4. The act of dressing properly is indicated by five Sanskrit words, viz., akalpa, vesa, nepathya, pratikarma and praśadhana (cf. *Amarakōṣa*, II, p. 99). This shows how great an importance was attached to this art of dressing.

12 *A. S. I. R.*, 1911-1912, pl. XL, II; *A. S. I. R.*, 1909-10, pl. XXXVIII.

13 Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 54.

the age may be gathered from I-Tsing when he states that people of India in general including the officers and persons of higher class wore a pair of soft white cloth as garment, while the poorer and the lower class wore only a single piece of linen. The ' dhōtis ' were eight feet long. They had no girdle, nor were they cut or sewn, but wrapped round the waist to cover the lower part.[1] The other fashion consisted of a tunic with loose sleeves folded half-way with pointed ends, trousers not of the loose ' shalwar ' type but of ' churidar ' type and a close-fitting cap. The loose-sleeved tunic was often rolled up at the wrists; and the sleeves and breeches were frequently decorated with a vertical series of round plaques or possibly buttons.[2]

The women generally wore ' sāris ' and ' chādars '—a dress which was equally cool and comfortable for the hot climate of our country like the ' dhōtis ' worn by men.[3] The women's clothes were of complex pattern and ' decked in all their fineries ' both in style and material. Along with these they must have worn a corset opening in front with an arrangement for fastening there.[4] The upper garment was supported by a girdle (bandha) worn above the navel,[5] and the petticoats[6] which were worn over the silk cloth were fastened by this girdle. The half-armed and full-armed jackets were also in vogue, as may be seen in the Ajantā paintings,[7] and mention of *Sthānāmsuka* and *Kurpasaka* in Kālidāsa's Ṛtusamhara leads us to believe that these may have been the prototype of the present-day bodice.[8] The mode of wearing the sāri may be seen from the picture of goddess Laxmi on the coins of the Guptas where the ' sāri ' was worn in such a way that its folds fell down to the ankles and the body was draped in a full-sleeved tunic reaching the knees.[9] Below the breasts there was a waist-band, as depicted in the figure, which is tied with its loop visible on the left of the figure. The shoulders were covered with a ' chādar '.[10]

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[1] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-8.

[2] Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, pp. 5, 6, 7, 16, 20, 40 and 45; *Śukranīti* (14, p. 164) recommends a practice of having separate marks of distinction for castes and stages. It was certainly followed by the people in ancient India, and accordingly different costumes were worn by persons of various status in accordance with their respective status and professions, such as horsemen, elephant-drivers, foot-soldiers, hunters, trappers, chamberlain, ministers, chieftains, musicians, door-keepers, etc. Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 55 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17; Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. III, 2; Brown, *Catalogue of the coins of the Guptas and the Maukharis*, (Lucknow), No. 28, p. 6.

[4] Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

[5] Bāṇa, *Candisataka*, 72, p. 334; Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 411.

[6] Bāṇa, *op. et loc. cit.*

[7] Griffiths, *op. cit.*, p. 474 (caves XVI and XVII); cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[8] *Ṛtusamhara*, IV, 16, 55 and VI, 8, 61.

[9] Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. II, pp. 1-9; pl. III, p. 2; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-9.

[10] According to Hiuen Tsiang's description the women wore a long robe which covered both shoulders and fell down loose, cf. Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148.

Finally, the children as depicted by the Ajantā paintings wore a 'dhōti', 'channavira' or 'paṭaka' and their hair was tied by a ribbon.[1]

People generally went bare-footed though some kinds of foot-wear are known to have existed.[2] The early Buddhist sources mention both shoes and sandals of different shapes, colours and materials, and the leather with which they were made was dyed yellow, red, magenta or black.[3] Some varieties of shoes are known from sculpture, and they must have been fashionable in those times. These shoes are those that covered the ankles (moccasins? puṭabanddha), full boot (paḍiguntima), those padded with cotton-wool (tūlapuṇṇika), those shaped like the wings of a partridge (tittirapaṭṭika), those decorated with the horns of ram and goat, those with curved points like a scorpion's sting, and those decorated with peacock feathers, etc.[4]

Associated with the dress are cosmetics, coiffure and toilet. Perfumes, collyrium, oils, incense, unguent and flowers were freely used by both sexes for the make-up of their faces and bodies. What is more, this was looked upon as a necessary condition of personal hygiene.[5] This point is illustrated by the use of collyrium. According to ancient belief, collyrium increased one's eyesight besides adding to one's coquettishness,[6] and there are ample proofs of its use from the Mohenjodaro[7] times to the Maitraka period and beyond.

Writing in the early centuries of the Christian era, Vātsyāyana in his *Kāmasūtra* has given several details about toilet and its accessories prevalent among the men of the richer classes of society, details which agree with the description given by Bāṇa of a typical high class youth of his day.[8] According to this description there were placed on an elevated shelf all the requisites of toilet ready for the user in the morning. These requisites consisted of ointment (anulepana), a basket of garlands (siktha-karaṇḍaka), scent-box (saugandhika-puṭika), skin of the citron fruit (mātuluṅgatvacah), and betel-leaf. After his morning ablutions and before proceeding to other details of toilet, he applied sandal-paste or a similar ointment to the body. Incense was used to fumigate the clothes; garlands were worn and other things like collyrium and lip-stick (lac-dye) were used in front of a mirror. The toilet was completed with chewing

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1 Ajantā Cave, XVII, cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

2 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

3 *Mahāvagga*, V, 3, 2; Motichandra 'Indian Costume from the earliest times to the First Century B.C.," *Bhāratiya Vidya*, Pt. I, (1939) p. 44.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit*, *J.I.S.O.A.*, VIII, p. 63.

6 Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 62. References to the use of collyrium are found in the *Mahāvagga*, VI, 11, 1; *Jātakas*, p. 302; *Arthaśāstra*, p. 139; *Megasth. Frag.*, 17; *Strabo*, XV, c. 710; *Kāmasūtra*, I, 4, 8, etc., down to the writers of the Gupta period like Kālidāsa, Bāṇa and others.

8 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 198, 16-7.

a few betel-leaves, after which a man went to attend to his work.[1] Other items of personal hygiene were massage, shampoo and shaving on every fourth day, all of which were practised as conducive to longevity.[2]

It was only natural that in a society which paid so much attention to personal appearance the members of the fair sex should have lavished all their care and skill on their make-up. The varieties of their coiffure, as seen in the paintings of Ajantā, are amazing.[3] They decorated themselves with flowers and used ointments of various colours to enhance their beauty. For instance, they painted their feet with clotted lac, and stained them with saffron on the upper surface.[4] Their loins were painted with sandal,[5] the face with round patterns, and eyes with collyrium. The hair was perfumed with fragrant oil,[6] the teeth stained red or black,[7] the lips were painted with lac-dye and the designs on the face and the forehead were made in black, white and red colours. The *tilaka* was painted on the forehead,[8] generally with sandal paste and musk. Designs were also drawn on arms, temples, breast, etc.,[9] for which white agallochum, gorocana,[10] kṛṣṇaguru,[11] saffron,[12] realgar and red-lead were used.[13] The face was decorated with various nature designs like that of leaves, flowers, etc. One of the favourite patterns of these paintings was called 'Kamarikā'.[14] For fragrance, camphor-powder, sandal, saffron, musk, unguents, and other such materials were used.[15] Varieties of ointment, scented oils and powders were smeared on the body. Betel-leaves were eaten as they imparted redness to the lips and helped digestion.[16] These leaves were chewed with spices like cloves, camphor, nut-meg, kakkōla, latākasturi and similar other eatable objects of flavour.[17]

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1 Vātsyāyana, *Kāmasūtra*, 1, 4, 8-16; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 97.

2 *Ibid.*

3 These varieties are described by Motichandra (*op. cit.*, XII, pp. 139-144); see also Altekar (*Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, p. 358), Saletore (*op. cit.*, pp. 397-412), Bāṇa, *Kādambari*, p. 8.

4 Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 123; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 148.

5 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 124; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 123.

6 *Ibid.*

7 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 151; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76.

8 Bāṇa, *Kādambari*, p. 98; *Kumarasambhava*, VII, 9, p. 127.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

10 *Ibid.*, VII, p. 15; cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 129.

11 Bāṇa, *Kādambari*, p. 124.

12 Bāṇa, *Harṣacharita*, pp. 16-17.

13 Bāṇa, *Kādambari*, p. 124.

14 Cf. Motichandra, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 129.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 131; Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 127.

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Suśruta*, V, 12, p. 483. While describing the Vindhya mount the ointment of a dark-blue colour made of pounded aloe-bark is referred to in a Maitraka grant. This ointment may have been known to the people in those days. Cf. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 185, ll, 47-50.

Jewels and ornaments were used to adorn the arms, ears, forehead, neck and ankles, and this love for personal ornaments was manifest in both the sexes alike.[1] As Hiuen Tsiang has written, " The dress and ornaments of kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head adornments; and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets."[2] About the jewels of royalty there is ample information even in the contemporary epigraphical records, and it may be gathered from them that the kings at times wore a jewelled crown (kiriṭa)[3] and at other times a *chudāmaṇi*[4] or a *chudāratna.*[5] Their locks were bedecked with jewels,[6] and their forearms with valayas[7] studded with beads and precious stones. From the neck there usually hung a necklace of pearls.[8] The ears were ornamented with ear-rings.[9] Anklets were probably worn on ankles.[10] It is possible that the common run of men followed the fashion set by their betters, but the jewels they wore naturally varied according to their means. Bāṇa has given a description of a forester who wore ear-rings of glass and tin armlets decorated with *gōdanta* beads.[11] The familiar ornaments of women were, of course, the bangles. A stone image of a goddess unearthed at Valabhī has as many as eleven bangles on its hands.[12] The women wore a front jewel on their forehead, a necklace with a jewelled pendant hung from their neck and there were, besides, bracelets, anklets and the girdle.[13]

These people believed in celebrating the festive occasions with real pomp and èclat. These festivals fell into two broad divisions, royal and religious. An instance of the royal festival is indeed the coronation of a king.[14] The people were wont to keep the occasion as a real holiday, and feudatories, generals, merchants and provincials all flocked to the capital to witness the event.[15]

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1 Ganguli, " Jewellery in Ancient India," *J. I. S. O. A.*, X, p. 140 ff. Griffiths, *op. cit.* (Caves XVI and XVII) pp. 47-62 ff.

2 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 151; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76.

3 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 96; Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 178; cf. *Raghuvaṁsa*, IV, 19.

4 *Ibid.;* Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 42; *Vikramōrvasi*, IV, 122.

5 Bühler, " Further Valabhī Grants," *I. A.*, VI, p. 9; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 45.

6 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 42; Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 61; *Meghadūta*, I, 46.

7 Bāṇa, *op. et loc. cit.*,

8 Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, (18), p. 83; (10) p. 45.

9 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-7; Fleet, *op. cit.* (39), p. 175.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 202.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

12 Cf. *Catalogue of Finds from Valabhī (Vaḷā) in the Indian Historical Research Institute Museum* (St. Xavier's College), 1939, F. C. B. 11.

13 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

14 Fleet, *op. cit.* (38), p. 168. The coronation of a king called *rājabhiśecaniya* formed the chief part of the Rājasuya. Cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, II, p. 1215; Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, II, p. 219; *Mahābhārata-Sabhā-Parva*, XXXIII-V; *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, V, 3, 1.

15 *Ayodhyākaṇḍa*, III, XI-V.

An auspicious day was selected for the ceremony.[1] Usually, it was the first day of the first[2] or of the last month[3] of the year. The *abhiśecaniya* or the actual coronation lasted for five days,[4] and the grandeur of the occasion was heightened by the lavish display of flowers, costly dresses and ornaments. The king was clothed in ceremonial garments,[5] and was seated on a golden cushion surrounded by his sons, if any, and his ministers,[6] while the white umbrella which is the symbol of sovereignty in India waved over the scene.[7] He symbolically ascended the quarters of the sky as an indication of his universal rule and trod on a tiger skin showing thereby that he gained the strength and the pre-eminence of the tiger.[8] To signify his safety in all quarters he was given a strung bow[9] and three arrows.[10] He was sprinkled with holy water[11] by the priests and representatives of the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya castes, an act which symbolized the consent of all the people to the anointing.[12] This was followed by the ceremonial dice-play and the symbolic march[13] for the plunder of cows.[14] All the deities were invoked and propitiated during the ceremony by the offerings of 'Idā, Ghee, Hōma and libations,' and the entire mass of spectators were treated to a banquet.[15] The festivities closed as usual with the donation of cows and other gifts to the *hotṛ*, the *adhvaryu* and the other Brāhmaṇas.[16] The occasion may also have been marked by a general amnesty.[17]

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1 Bāṇa, *Kādambari*, p. 84.

2 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1215-6; *Taittiriya Saṁhita*, V, 6, 2, 1; *Atharvaveda*, IV, 8, 1, XI, 77; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VIII, 15, 8, 7.

3 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, II, p. 1216.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *Taittiriya Saṁhita*, I, 8, 15; Macdonell and Keith, *op. et loc. cit.*

6 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1218.

7 *Ayodhyākanda*, XXVI, as quoted by Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

8 Macdonell and Keith, *op. et loc. cit.*

9 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1217; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, V, 3, 5.

10 These three arrows were called *ruga*, *driva* and *kshupa* and they were to protect him whilst he moved forward, backward and sideways: *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, V, 3, 5; *S. B. E.*, XLI, p. 88.

11 The holy water for sprinkling on the king was poured into a vāṭ of udumbara wood and a golden jar, the water symbolising as it did 17 different duties associated with royalty. The 17 kinds of water were as follows: (1) of the Sarasvati river, (2) flowing water, (3) water from ripples produced by the entrance of man or animal, (4) water from a river drawn against the current, (5) that of the sea, (6) of the ocean, (7) of whirl-pools, (8) of deep steady reservoirs always exposed to the sun, (9) the rain water in sunshine before it falls on the ground, (10) water of a lake, (11) of a well, (12) of frost, (13) of the pond, (14) of the dew drops, (15) embryonic water of calving cow, (16) that which rises in the front, (17) and that which rises behind him: cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, II, II, p. 1217; *S. B. E.*, XLI, pp. 69-78.

12 Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 1217-8.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 1219.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 1218.

15 *Mahābhārata-Sabha Parva*, XXXIII, 17-18 (Dutta, *op. cit.*, p. 50); Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1216.

16 *Ibid.*, p. 1218.

17 Bāṇa, *Kādambari*, XVII, 8-30.

Another occasion for festivities was the birth of a son in the royal family[1] which, in the words of Bāṇa, set the whole population of the capital a-dancing. It would appear that social restrictions were relaxed on such occasions, and dancing, drinking and singing were freely indulged in, even persons of royal birth taking part in the same. This was hardly the proper time for the ascetics to move about: they became the butt of the crowd.[2]

Ratha Yātrā was one of the great religious festivals. We have a vivid account of it by Fa Hien, who actually witnessed it in Magadha: "Every year on the eighth day of the second month they celebrate a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car, and on it erect a structure of five storeys by means of bamboos tied together. This is supported by a king-post, with poles and lances slanting from it, and is rather more than twenty cubits high, having the shape of a tope. White and silk like cloth of hair is wrapped all round it, which is then painted in various colours. They make figures of devas, with gold, silver, and lapis lazuli grandly blended and having silken streamers and canopies hung out over them. On the four sides are niches, with a Buddha seated in each, and a Boddhisattva standing in attendance on him. There may be twenty cars, all grand and imposing, but each one different from the others. On the day mentioned, the monks and laity within the borders all come together; they have singers and skilful musicians; they pay their devotions with flowers and incense. The Brāhmaṇas come and invite the Buddhas to enter the city. These do so in order, and remain two nights in it. All through the night they keep lamps burning, have skilful music, and present offerings."[3] *Ratha Yātrā* was not peculiar to Magadha alone, but was a festival common to the whole of India[4] just as it is at present. But so far as Surāṣṭra and Gujarāt are concerned it is now celebrated on the second day of the bright fortnight of the month of Aṣaḍha each year. The Buddhist counterpart of this festival was probably what I-Tsing has called the Pravarana-day on which the monks brought "storied carriages, images in sedan-chairs, drums and other music resounding in the sky," and hoisted "banners and canopies . . . in regular order, flattering and covering the sun."[5]

The celebration of the feasts must have inevitably added to the number of ailments human flesh is heir to, as generally on such occasions the people eat not wisely but too well. In such eventualities they mostly seem to have resorted to nature-cures such as fasting, and it was only on the failure of this method that any physician was approached for medicine. As Hiuen Tsiang says, "Every one who is attacked by sickness has his food cut off for seven

1 Bāṇa, *Harṣacharita*, pp. 110-1.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

3 Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

days. In this interval the patient often recovers, but if he cannot regain his health he takes medicine."[1] According to the same writer these medicines were of various kinds, each kind having a specific name, and the doctors differed, as they must, both in medical skill and in prognostication.[2]

All the foreign visitors to India seem to have been impressed by the habit of personal cleanliness which they observed among our people as also by their habitual courtesy. Speaking of the former, Hiuen Tsiang remarks: "They are pure of themselves and not from compulsion. Before every meal they must have a wash; the fragments and remains are not served up again, the food utensils are not passed on: those utensils which are of pottery or wood must be thrown away after use; and those which are of gold, silver, copper or iron, get another polishing. As soon as a meal is over they chew the tooth-stick and make themselves clean; before they have finished ablutions, they do not come into contact with each other; they always wash after urinating; they smear their bodies with scented unguents such as sandal and saffron."[3]

They were equally punctilious as regards rules of etiquette. Parents[4] and elders were duly respected and the teachers and the Brāhmaṇas[5] were held in honour. Nine modes of salutation were in vogue in accordance with the degree of respect to be shown to the individual concerned: greeting with a kind inquiry, reverently bowing the head, raising the hands to the head with an inclination of the body, bowing with the hands folded on the breast, bending a knee, kneeling with both knees (lit. kneeling long), going down on the ground on hands and knees, bowing down with knees, elbows and forehead to the ground and prostrating oneself on the earth.[6]

Lastly, there were three recognized customs for disposing of the dead. The first was cremation which consisted in burning the corpse on a pyre; the second was water-burial, the corpse being put into a stream to float and dissolve, and the third was burial in the wilds which consisted in throwing the body to be eaten by wild animals.[7] The family where death had taken place was considered unclean and no one could dine with them until matters were set right by ceremonial bathing.[8] And the offering of rice-balls (piṇḍa) by the sons to the manes of their parents was regarded as a sacred duty.

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[1] Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 174; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 86.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 152; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77.

[4] In all the Maitraka grants kings have invariably paid their respects to the parents.

[5] Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 173; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 85.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, I, p. 174, and p. 86.

[8] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

RELIGION

The history of religion under the Maitrakas constitutes one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of their dynasty. The rulers were broad-minded and altogether catholic in their outlook. They made no difference between one religion and another, but encouraged Śaivism, no less than Buddhism, Sun-worship, Jainism and Vaiṣṇavism. Learned men of all religions derived equal benefit from the State, and no distinction was made in this matter. Knowledge and truth were considered the highest forms of religion, and the Maitraka kings showed their readiness to accept any creed, if and when its truth was demonstrated to them by its exponents. In short, the spirit of tolerance and reverence for the good things of all religions, an ideal which was taught by Aśōka, was closely followed by the Maitrakas.

Śaivism: The earliest existence of Śaivism in India can be traced back to the time of Mohenjo Daro in the ruins of which seals bearing the images of Śiva are found in a yogi-like posture.[1] Unfortunately, archæological and epigraphical evidences add very little to prove its existence and development in the early-mediæval province of Kāṭhiāwād. However, monuments from Mālavā, C.P., and U.P., speak of its flourishing state before we get definite evidence of its existence in Surāṣṭra.[2] Śaivism in this country seems to have been enriched by the Maitrakas during their glorious reign.

It was the state religion, or to be more precise, the royal religion of the Maitrakas.[3] The Bull and the Trident, the well-known emblems of god Śiva, which were usually found on the seals and coins respectively, and the title 'parama-maheśvara' before the names of these kings in their copper-plates,[4] go to prove the same.

All the Valabhī rulers, with the exception of Dhruvasena I (A.D. 519-49) who was a Bhāgavata, and Dharapaṭṭa (A.D. 550) who was a devotee of the Sun, were definitely followers of the Śaiva cult. True, in one of his inscriptions Guhasena adopts the Buddhist style of *paramōpāsaka*, but this is not sufficient evidence to show that he was converted to the Buddhist faith. For in the later records Guhasena is called '*parama-maheśvara*' by his successors. Moreover, the reason for Guhasena's adopting this title can easily be accounted. It seems

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[1] Marshall, *Mohenjo Daro and the Indus Civilization*, I, pp. 52-4. Heras, "The Plastic Representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians," *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, p. 223; Moraes, 'A Mohenjo Daro Figure," *The New Review*, X, p. 438 (1939). The earliest dated reference to Śiva worship is that of Megasthenes, cf. Mc Crindle, *Ancient India*, pp. 22-33.

[2] Sankalia, *The Archæology of Gujarāt*, p. 219.

[3] This is obvious from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka rulers.

[4] Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 119.

to have been intended to please his cousin Duḍḍā, a Buddhist nun, for whom he had the highest esteem, and also the learned and virtuous Buddhist monks, who were his contemporaries.

An insight into the nature of Valabhī Śaivism is obtainable from only one inscription.[1] The copper-plates of Śīlāditya I (c. A.D. 599-614) record that he made a grant of two pieces of land along with a *Yamala-vāpi* as the provision for the repairing of the temple as well as for the worship of the god by means of: bathing water (*snapana*), pounded sandal-wood (*gandha*), perfume smoke proceeding from Gum or resin (*dhūpa*): flowers (*puṣpa*), garland (*mālya*), lamps (*dīpa*), music (*gīta*), dance (*nṛtya*), etc. The temple was a private one, but that in no way lessens its importance. For it throws a good deal of light on the prevalence of that cult in the early mediæval period. Early worship of the Brāhmaṇic gods was essentially private, and was performed in seclusion of which this is a typical example. Now looking to the fact that almost all the Valabhī kings were Śaivites, is it not strange that only one grant issued to a Śaivite temple should have come down to us?[2] But it may perhaps be that Śaivism being the royal religion, the Śaivite temples were maintained by the state from the general revenue and that no special grants were made to them.[3]

Dr. Sankalia agrees[4] with the late Dr. Bühler in his supposition that the cult-objects in the Śiva temples at Valabhī were *liṅgas* and not images.[5] Along with the *liṅgas*, the *Nandi* is always associated with Śiva, being his vehicle; and it is found on the dynastic seals and coins of the Maitrakas. That such *Nandis*[6] abounded in these temples is evident from the number of them strewn about the ruins of Vaḷā, some of which may be dated back to the sixth and seventh centuries.

The flourishing state of Śaivism may also be deduced from the literary sources and folklore, e.g., in the *Udayasundarikathā*, the author Soḍḍhala traces his descent from king Śīlāditya's brother Kālāditya, whom he praises as an incarnation of the Gaṇa called Kāyastha, a follower of Śiva.[7] Then again we are told that Śaṅkrāchārya probably visited Valabhī[8] when he went

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[1] Bühler, " A Valabhi Grant of Śilāditya I, dated 290," *I. A.*, IX, p. 237.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] It is also possible to maintain that some such grants may have been made to the Śaivite temples and possibly were lost in the confusion that followed the downfall of the Maitraka rule.

[4] Sankalia, *The Archæology of Gujarāt*, p. 218.

[5] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

[6] Some of these Nandis are life-size (about 6') ones from which we can imagine the grandeur of the temples.

[7] Soḍḍhala, *The Udayasundari Kathā* is supposed to have been composed between A.D. 1025-1050.

[8] Śaṅkracharya's visit to Dwarka is mentioned by Madhavacharya, *Śankar-dig-Vijaya*, Sarva 16; Anandagiri, *Śankar Vijaya*, and James Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, Vol. XI, p. 186; Śāstri, *Śaiva Dharma no Saṅkshit Itihas*, pp. 45-46.

to establish the *Śāradāmaṭha* at Dwārkā,[1] and that his visit strengthened the position of Śaivism in this part of the country. Finally, we learn from the story-literature that a huge Śiva-temple of Achaleśvara Mahādeva was erected by a Valabhī king in the centre of the capital city.[2] Unfortunately, no traces of this temple have been left except the vague statement of Hiuen Tsiang that there existed several hundred deva-temples with very many sectaries of different sorts.[3]

According to the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Valabhī Śaivism was of the old Paśupata school of Nākūlisa or Lākūlisa sect.[4] However, in the absence of any material indicating the existence of Nākūlisa or Lākūlisa sect, found from the ruins of Valabhī. the assumption cannot be accepted.[5]

In Vaḷā itself there is at Moti Darai an old Śiva temple with a step-well;[6] and not long ago there was discovered a polished granite *liṅga* of greenish colour.[7] These things prove that at Valabhī people highly esteemed Śaivism.

[1] V. N. Thakur, *Anangabhadra Ya Valabhipura No Vinās* (Gujarati), p. 87.

[2] *Ibid.* The description of the temple may be an imaginary one, but the main points of the novel are taken from the historical sources and as the Valabhī kings were staunch Śaivites the existence of such a temple was not impossible.

[3] Watters, *op. et loc. cit.;* Beal, *op. et loc. cit.;* at Vaḷā there are old Śiva temples of Siddheśvara Rāmesvara, Ratneśvara, and Buddhanatha which may be assigned to that Maitraka period.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I. Pt. I, p. 83.

[5] Lākūlisa or Nākūlisa is a yogi-form of Śiva and the figure is at times found with a piece of cloth tied round its folded or upraised knees, called *Yogapaṭṭa* (*A. S. I. R.*, 1906-7, p. 186). Lākūlisa or Nākūlisa, according to the Purāṇas, was the twenty-eighth (Khare, *Murtivijñāna*, p. 127), i.e., the last incarnation of Maheśvara. It is also clear from the account of the *Śiva Purāṇa*, III, 549, *Kurma Purāṇa*, LIII, 25, the *Liṅga-Purāṇa*, Ch. XXIV, 131, the *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Ch. XXIII, 223, verse 124-133, and the *Ekalingi Inscription*, (Bhandarkar, "The Ekalingi Stone Ins. and the original history of the Lākūlisa sect," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXII, p. 157 ff.), found near Nāthadwārā, that the incarnation took place at Kāyāvarōhaṇa. There were four ascetic-pupils of Lākūlisa, whose names as mentioned in the Purāṇas are Kusika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurusya. The origin of this sect is supposed to be as early as the first century A.D. This incarnation took place because, as the Hemavati inscription says, Lākūlisa being afraid that his name and doctrine might be lost in oblivion, was born on earth again as Chilluka (*Ep. Car.*, XII, p. 45). The origin of the name Lakuli is from *Lakulaopalakshitakara*, i.e., the representation of the Śiva with his hand holding a lakuta, i.e., apparently lakuta or a club. Often in the countries where this sect was prevalent the image was found with one hand holding a lakuta and the other sometimes a cocoanut (*A. S. I. R.*, 1905, pp. 48-50). It is also well known that the image of Lākūlisa, besides having other iconographical peculiarities, is characterised by the representation of an uncovered phallus (called *Urdhvamedhra* in Sanskrit, cf. *A. S. I. R.*, 1906, p. 186). Assumption of the *Bombay Gazetteer* that Valabhī Śaivism was of this sect, cannot be accepted. The fact that Kārvan was the centre of Lākūlisa or Nākūlisa sect of Śaivism, which is in Gāikwār territory and was the seat of Paṣupaṭa worship, does not support this view at all, since it is at a fairly great distance from Valabhī itself. While in the ruins of Valabhī proper no signs are seen of the prevalence of this sect.

[6] *Watson Museum Report*, 1938-9, p. 31.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Some scholars even date the celebrity of Somanath from the time of the Valabhī rulers.[1] This is further corroborated by an inscription at Somanath which speaks of the repairs carried out by Bhimadeva.[2] The inscription is specifically dated as Valabhī Saṁvat 850. These temples, since they were not made of durable materials, vanished long ago with one or two exceptions, and it is important to note that down to the ninth century A.D. all over Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwād brick and wood were the only materials used in temples and other religious edifices.[3]

Goddess-Worship also played an important part in the religion of the Maitraka kingdom. The Valabhī inscriptions mention two such goddesses, Panarājya[4] or Pāṇḍurāja[5] and Koṭṭammahikādevi.[6] King Droṇasiṁha (c. A.D. 502) granted a village for the maintenance and upkeep of the temple of the former goddess. From this it is evident that as early as the end of the fifth century, temples of goddesses existed in Hastavapra (modern Hāthab) in Kāṭhiāwād.

The temple of Koṭṭammahikādevi, as we are told, was first built by Drōnasiṁha[7] in the *Svatala* (boundary) of Trisaṅgamaka (modern Tarsamiā).[8] For some reason, the royal grant to the temple was stopped, but it was resumed and made permanent by Dhruvasena II (c. A.D. 639-40), who also repaired the temple dedicated to Kottarādevi. The ruins of this temple existed when Jackson edited the grant. But unfortunately, he did not describe the temple nor the image of the goddess. She might have been some Śakti of Śiva or a local goddess such as Pānarājya. Another example of worship of the goddess is obtained from the legend about the Valabhī queen Puṣpāvati, the wife of

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1 Munshi, *Gujarat and its Literature*, p. 76; and Cousens, *Somanath and other Mediæval Temples in Kāṭhiāwād*, p. 18.

2 " Stone Inscriptions in the temple of Bhadrakāli," *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions—Bhavanagar*, p. 186.

3 This is confirmed by the stories on record about two temples, one at Śatruñjaya and the other at Somanath. As regards the Śatruñjaya temple the tradition is that while a minister of Kumārapāla (A.D. 1147-1174) of Aṇahilawāda was on a visit to Śatruñjaya to worship and meditate in the temple of Ādinātha, the wick of the lamp in the shrine was dislodged by the mice and the edifice was set on fire and almost destroyed being wholly built of wood. The minister seeing the danger of wooden buildings determined to erect a stone edifice (cf. Kumārapāla charita). The story about Somanath is given in an inscription of the time of Kumārapāla in the temple of Bhadrakāli which shows that before the stone-temple was built by Bhimadeva I (A.D. 1022-1072) the structure was of wood which was traditionally believed to be as old as the time of Kṛṣṇa (cf. Bhadrakāli Inscription at Somanath, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 79).

4 Jackson, " The two New Valabhī Copper-plates," *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, p. 2 ff.

5 Barnett, " Bhamodra Mohata Plates of Drōnasiṁha," *E. I.*, XVI, p. 17 ff.

6 Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

7 Sankalia, *op. et loc. cit.*

8 Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 16.

king Śīlāditya, the last ruler of the dynasty, who had been to Ārāsur to worship the goddess Bhavāni.[1]

Vaiṣṇavism: The province of Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwād is well known as the second home of lord Kṛṣṇa in the Purāṇas.[2] But unfortunately, there are no clear indications of the prevalence of Vaiṣṇavism in Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwād before the advent of the Guptas in the fourth and the fifth centuries.[3] This was probably the beginning of Vaiṣṇavism in Surāṣṭra. The Traikuṭakas in Lāṭa, who were the contemporaries of the Guptas,[4] also seem to be Vaiṣṇavas, as could be deduced from their titles 'Parama Bhāgavata' and 'Parama Vaiṣṇava.'[5] Skandagupta's inscription mentions a temple of Viṣṇu as built by Chakrapālita at Girinagar.[6] This inscription opens with an invocation of Viṣṇu in the vāmana or the 'dwarf' incarnation. And the noted feature of the Vaiṣṇavism of the Gupta period, viz., worshipping the incarnation of Viṣṇu, is also indicated in the above inscription.

As for Vaiṣṇavism in mediæval Gujarāt the chroniclers have not much to say except about the later period when Narasiṁha Mehta greatly popularised the worship of Kṛṣṇa.

Although the superiority of Śiva remained long undisputed, Vaiṣṇavism did exist in these provinces. During the Veḍic period also Viṣṇu was considered a great god. He was not considered the supreme or the sole god. In fact he was considered inferior to Indra, as is evidenced by many hymns addressed to the latter. But according to a certain legend Viṣṇu came out successful in the contest among the gods and was thereupon styled the most excellent of the gods. Viṣṇu held this position during the Brāhmaṇic period, for as Dr. Raychaudhari says, "in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa Viṣṇu is described as occupying the highest place among the gods."[7] As for the sect called Vaiṣṇavism we know that it is the name given to the Bhakti cult which recognises Viṣṇu also called Bhāgavat-Narāyana or Hari as the sole God.[8]

Coming to Vaiṣṇavism during the Maitraka rule it must be said that there are some faint traces of its prevalence in Valabhī, especially in the title of Dhruvasena I, who is called in the Valabhī inscriptions a '*Parama-Bhāgavata*.'[9]

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1 Merutunga, *op. et loc. cit.;* Thakur, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 Thoothi, *The Vaishnavas of Gujarāt*, p. 72; Parekh, *Sri Vallabhacharya*, 379.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 380.

4 Cf. Hoernle, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, pp. 801-804.

5 Hultzsch, "Surat Plates of Vyāgrasena," *E. I.*, XI, p. 219; Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 14; cf. Raychaudhari, *Early History of Viashnava Sect*, p. 101.

6 Fleet, "The Junāgaḍha Rock Inscription," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 56.

7 Raychaudhari, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 7; cf. Monier William, "The Vaiśṇava Religion," *J. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), XIV, pp. 289-316.

9 The Maliya Copper-plate Inscription of Dharasena II (Fleet, *C. I. I.*, III, p. 168) describes Dhruvasena I as Bhāgavata or Vaiṣṇava; Parekh, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

It is not possible to say when and how he was converted to this faith.[1] Probably some religious teacher convinced him of the superiority of Vaiṣṇavism over Śaivism, and consequently he adopted the former faith. However, some important information is given by a record of the feudatory ruler of the Maitrakas, viz., the Senāpati Siṁhāditya of the Gārulaka dynasty.[2] This record says that Kṛṣṇa lived in Dwārkā which was the capital of the western coast of Kāṭhiāwāḍ at that time. Now this is the first and perhaps the only epigraphical reference to Kṛṣṇa's Dwārkā and its supposed survival upto the seventh century A.D. Then again we know that the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, the well-known work composed at Valabhī, deals with the plot of the Rāmāyaṇa which shows that people took keen interest in the adventures of Rāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. The personal names like Viṣṇu, Mādhava, Kṛṣṇa, Nārāyana, Vasudeva, etc., in the Valabhī copper-plate grants also show the influence of Vaiṣṇavism in the country during the Maitraka rule.

Buddhism: Buddhism occupies an important place in the history of religion at Valabhī. The edicts of Aśōka on the way to Mount Girnār furnish us with the earliest evidence of the existence of Buddhism in Kāṭhiāwāḍ.[3] It might have been promulgated there, as in southern Gujarāt (Aparānt), by the Buddhists of Ceylon (Siṁhadvipa).[4] The name of one of these Buddhists, according to the edicts of Aśōka,[5] the Mahāvaṁsa,[6] and the Dīpavaṁśa[7] was Dharmarakṣita.

Besides Junāgaḍh, other places which the Buddhists seem to have colonised were Talājā[8] and Sānā,[9] where caves and sanctuaries of the early type survive.

Thus Buddhism may be said to have set foot in Surāṣṭra through the efforts of Aśōka. It might have enjoyed some popularity during the days of

1 Mention of the word 'Kṛṣṇa' in one of the Ten Fragments of the Stone Inscription from Vaḷā suggests a probability of the existence of Vaiṣṇavism during the time, cf. Diskalkar, "Ten Fragments of Stone Inscriptions and a Clay Seal from Vaḷā," *A. B. O. R. I.*, XX, pp. 1-8 (No. 1).

2 Hultzsch, "The Pahtāṇā Plates of Siṁhāditya," *E. I.*, XI, p. 18.

3 In spite of the contrary view expressed by Fr. Heras, "Aśōka's Dharma," *Q. J. M. S.*, XVIII, p. 268 ff., this view is accepted by scholars. Dr. Barua, "Religion of Aśōka," *Mahābodhi*, XXXV, p. 319; Chatterjee, "A Historical Character in the Reign of Aśōka," *Acarya-Puṣpāñjali Volume*, pp. 329-340; Sankalia, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 Vogel, "Prakrit Inscription from a Buddhist Site of Nagarjunikonda," *E. I.*, XX p. 22.

5 *Fifth Edict.*

6 *Mahāvaṁśa*, Ch. VIII.

7 *Dipavaṁśa*, Ch. XV.

8 It is near the village Vankia, cf. Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Burgess, *A. K. K.*, p. 149. There are thirty caves at Talājā.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 53. The caves at Sānā number about sixty-two. Anakchandra "Rock-cut Buddhist monastery at 'Sānā' Hills" (Moraes), *Bibliography of Indological Studies* 1942, p. xxii ff.

Milinda, and may have taken firm roots in the reign of the early Āndhra kings.[1] But it certainly reached the acme of its glory during the rule of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī.

An explanation of this resurgence of Buddhism is available in the epigraphical records[2] as well as in the accounts of Chinese travellers.[3] The details given in the copper-plates corroborate the statement of Hiuen Tsiang. They describe the Saṅgha of the reverend Śākya Bhikṣus as belonging to eighteen schools (nikāyas) and hailing from various places. The 'eighteen schools'[4] mentioned therein evidently point to the prevalence of Hinayāna sect, but that the Mahāyāna sect also flourished at Valabhī, will be seen hereafter. Further, we know from Hiuen Tsiang's account that most of the bhikṣus in Mālavā, Valabhī and Ānandapura studied Hinayāna according to the Sammitiya school, while the bhikṣus of Bharucaccha and Surāṣtra followed the Mahāyāna according to the Sthavira school, and the bhikṣus of Kheṭaka and Ujjayani studied both the Yānas.[5] As for these schools we know that the Shaviravādins represented the conservative school of the first schism while the sammitiyas formed a sub-division of the Sthaviravādins. The Sammitiya school secured patronage from the emperor Harṣa whose sister Rajaśrī was a follower of this school.[6]

The earliest reference to Buddhism in Valabhī is found in a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena I. In Valabhī Sam. 216[7] (c. A.D. 535) he donated some

1 Dikshit, "Valabhi, The Ancient Buddhist University," *Historical and Economic Studies*, p. 55.

2 The objects excavated at the site of Valabhi contain a variety of clay-seals with the Buddhist formula "Ye Dharma hetu prabhava" imprinted on them, and the copper-plate grants also record the existence of Buddhism at Valabhi. Besides this the reference to 'Ratnatraya' (frag. 1), 'Sangha' (frag. 4) and 'Tathāgata' (frag. 5), occurring in some fragmentary stone inscriptions discovered in Valā further show the influence of Buddhism in Valabhi in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. Cf., Diskalkar, *op. cit.* Then again, the reference to the fields belonging to the Buddhist monks or Samgha may be noted from the copper-plate grants, e.g., *samgha ksetra, sthavira Brahma-deya-khetra* (lines 36-9) of Dhruvasena II's grant, *J. B. B. R. A S* (N. S.), I, pp. 50-3; *Bavya-sthaviraka kshetra* (line 49) of Dharasena IV's grant, *I. A.*, I, p. 14, and *satka . . . koutumba kshetra* (line 59) Śilāditya III's grant, *E. I.*, IV, p. 74.

3 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*; Beal, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 The eighteen schools of the Bhiksus were as follows: (i) Mula-mahā-sanghika, (ii) Ekavyāharikas, (iii) Lokottara-vādins, (iv) Kaurukullakas, (v) Bahuśrutiyas, (vi) Prajnaptivādins, (vii) Caityasailas; (viii) Avarasailas, (ix) Sailas, (x) Vatsiputriyas, (xi) Dharmottaras, (xii) Bhadrayanikas, (xiii) Sammitiyas, (xiv) Sannagarikas, (xv) Mahi-sasakas, (xvi) Dharsnaguptakas, (xvii) Kasyapayas and (xviii) Santrantikas; cf. Sogen, *Systems of Buddhist Thought*, p 100 ff. Hiuen Tsiang records that there were eighteen schools of Buddhism (cf. Beal, *op. cit.* I, p. 80), and we know that originally all the eighteen schools were affiliated to the Hinayāna (cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 101).

5 Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 260 ff.

6 Dutt, *Early History of the Spread of Buddhism and the Buddhist Schools*, p. 297.

7 Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Copper-plate Grant," *I. A.*, IX, p. 104.

villages to the monastery built by his niece (sister's daughter) Duḍḍā who laid the temporal foundation of Buddhism by erecting a Vihāra in or near Valabhī. We can gather some account of Duḍḍā and her Vihāra from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings. As we have seen above, Dhruvasena I has introduced her as his niece (*bhāgineyī*) and also as a follower of Buddhism (*paramōpāsika*). Hence her great Vihāra in the locality of Valabhī itself must have been built not long before v.s. 216, the date of the earliest known grant donated to it by her maternal uncle. King Guhasena refers to her with great respect and uses the word 'pāda' in connection with her. The later kings represent her as a queen (Rājñī). This epithet seems to have been used probably to connote the idea of her royal blood relationship. We do not know more about her parents or her husband, if at all she was married. From the description it seems that she must have been either a child-widow or a virgin. Any how, we know that she was residing at her maternal uncle's place at Valabhī and leading the life of a nun in her Vihāra. Realising the hardship of the life of Buddhist monks and nuns, she seems to have used her royal influence to inspire the rulers to issue grants for the maintenance of the Buddhist Vihāras.

Subsequently, other Vihāras were built by different persons or by kings themselves. The Duḍḍā Vihāra, as we see in the Valabhī records, had become one of the most important Vihāras at Valabhī, and gradually developed into a *Vihāra-maṇḍala* containing a number of vihāras within its precincts.

The Duḍḍā vihāra itself received many gifts from the successors of Dhruvasena I at least for about a century and a half (from v.s. 216 onwards). It was the head of a Vihāra-maṇḍala. The Duḍḍā-Mahā-Vihāra, as it was called later, incorporated in it the following monasteries:

(1) *The Bhaṭāraka Vihāra*[1] was probably named after Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty. This Vihāra was dedicated (प्रामादीकृत) to Rājasthāniya Sura (an officer).

(2) *The Gohaka Vihāra*[2] was built by Gohaka, probably a monk.

(3) *The Abhayantarika Vihāra*[3] was built by the venerable nun Mimmā. It was situated near the Bhaṭāraka Vihāra. On account of the resemblance with the term of respect (pāda) recorded in the inscription in connection with the nuns Mimmā and Duḍḍā, the former appears to have been another popular *paramōpāsika* related to the royal family at Valabhī.

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[1] Bühler, "A grant from Valabhi," *I. A.*, V, p. 206.

[2] Bühler, "Further Valabhi Grants," *I. A.*, VI, p. 15.

[3] Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

(4) *The Kakka-Vihāra*[1] was built by a trader named Kakka and it was situated not far off from the Duḍḍā Vihāra.

(5) *The Buddhadāsa Vihāra*[2] was named after Ācārya Bhadanta Buddhadāsa. This was probably built during the lifetime of Duḍḍā; hence the ācārya Buddhadāsa cannot be identified definitely with Buddhadāsa, the author of Mahāvibhāshā Śāstra.

(6) *The Vimalagupta Vihāra*[3] was built by Ācārya Bhikshu Vimalagupta, who was a resident of the Kukkuraṇaka village. It was included in the Ṣṭhiramati Vihāra.

(7) *The Sthiramati Vihāra*[4] was built by Ācārya Bhadanta (?) Ṣṭhiramati.[5]

The other vihāras in the *svatala* of Valabhī were included in the Yaksha Sura Vihāra maṇḍala and were reserved for the nuns (Bhikshuṇis). This Yaksha-Sura-Vihāra Maṇḍala consisted of the following Vihāras:

(1) *The Yakṣa Sūra Vihāra.*[6] It was built by Yakṣa Sūra and it formed the head of the monasteries for the nuns.

(2) *The Purṇṇa-Bhaṭṭa Vihāra*[7] was built by ~~one~~ Purṇṇa-bhaṭṭa who belonged to the family of Sāmanta Kakkuka on the maternal side.

(3) *The Ajjita Vihāra*[8] was built by a trader named Ajita. It was situated at the village Bhaṭṭipadra (in the vicinity of Valabhī) and which was perhaps presented to a feudatory Varahadāsa of the Gūrulaka family.

Besides these the following monasteries[9] are also mentioned in the copper-plate grants.

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1 In an inscription we find: " in the vihāra constructed by the trader Kakka (of) Mankila (gōtra) situated near Duḍḍā Vihāra,"

दुद्दाविहार म्याभ्यान्तर वाणिजयकमा लिकारितविहार।

This is from the unread portion of Dharasena II's grant of V.S. 270, *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, p. 68; वैष्याणां त्र्यार्षेय प्रवंश भवति। माल्न्द्र वान्सप्रिमां किल्ति। गोत्रद्रवस्तिवंदकद्व. Mankila was a gotra amongst the Vaisyas, cf. Gotra Pravaraṇibandha, p. 126.

2 Bloch, " King Dhruvasena I's grant dated, v.s. 217," *J. A. S. B.*, (1895), p. 379.

3 Diskalkar, " Śilāditya III's grant of V.S. 343, and 356," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, pp. 38-9.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

6 Gadre, " Five Vaḷā Plates," *J. U. B.*, III, p. 82.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, p. 79 (Garulaka Varahadāsa's grant of G.E. 230).

9 Had their names been well preserved in the following records five more Viharas would have been known to us:—*J. U. B.*, III, p. 80 ff. a Śilāditya's grant dated 287; Bhandarkar's Nos. 1330, 1331, 1595 and 1600.

(1) *The Bappapādiya Vihāra*[1] was constructed by Āchārya Bhikshu Sthiramati at Valabhī.[2] It is identified with the Vihāra referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in the account of Valabhī. The Vihāra described by the traveller is as follows: "Not far from the city is a great sangharām, which was built by the Arhat Ācārya (ochelo), here the Bodhisatvas Gunamati and Sthiramati fixed their residences during their travels and composed treatises which have gained a high renown."[3] In the foot-notes to his translation of the passage Samuel Beal adds the following account of both these āchāryas. According to it Sthiramati Sthavira was one of the famous disciples of Vasubandhu, the twenty-first patriarch, who wrote commentaries on all the works of his master. Guṇamati was also a disciple of Vasubandhu. He had a famous disciple called Vasumitra, who wrote a commentary on Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa (An Introduction to Mahāyāna).

(2) *The Vaṁśakata Vihāra*[4]: it is known that this Vihāra was built by king Śīlāditya I himself, in the Vaṁśakata village.[5]

(3) *The Yōdhāvaka Vihāra*[6] was built by *divirapati* named Skandabhaṭṭa at a village called Yōdhāvaka; along with this Vihāra was built a water-reservoir.

These monasteries existed not only in places where monarchism was preached and practised, but also in places where scientific education was imparted to the students on the basis of religion. The long duration of time, through which these have endowed with gifts, show how Buddhism became popular and held its sway over the minds of the people during those days.

The copper-plates thus give us the names of the several Vihāras. But being almost stereotyped in their descriptions, the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings do not help us much to know anything about the activities of these monasteries. Nevertheless, they do occasionally afford us glimpses into the life and the conditions in them. Most of them provided for the daily necessities of the monks, such as alms (*Piṇḍapāta*),[7] beds (*Śayanāsana*),[8] attendance

1 Bühler, "Further Valabhī Grants," *I. A.*, VI, p. 12.

2 This Vihāra was meant for monks from foreign countries, belonging to the Hinayāna sect is borne out by the expressions

"नानादेशप्रनत्वागतार्य्यभिक्षुसंघस्य" and "अष्टादशनिकायाभ्यन्तरार्य्यभिक्षुसंघस्य"

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

4 Diskalkar, "A Copper-plate grant Śīlāditya I dated v.s. 286," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, pp. 27-33.

5 Hiuen Tsiang thus corroborates this statement in his account of Malwa: "By the side of his palace he built a vihāra"; and he further says that, "he exhausted the skill of the artists and used every kind of ornaments in decorating it. In it he put images of the Seven Buddhas, Lords of the World."

6 Bhandarkar, "A grant of the Valabhī King Dharasena IV, dated 326," *I. A.*, I, p. 45.

7 A Bhikṣu was generally expected to receive his food by alms, but the grants imply that this was not absolutely necessary for him, when he lived a settled life in a Vihāra.

8 Śayanasana means a dwelling place for sleeping and resting where the Bhikṣus lodge at different cells of the Vihāras.

on the sick (*Glānapratyaya*), medicine (*Bhesajya*),[1] clothes (*Chivarakas*),[2] etc., for the worship of the Buddha's images, and the current repairs to the monasteries, thus giving us an idea of the duties of the monks, their daily life and their needs. Then again when these inscriptions refer to the anointing of the images,[3] the performances of dances and music[4] or the covering of the floor,[5] we know that life in a monastery was not a monotonous round of duties. One grant provides for the purchase of religious books for the monastery.[6] In some, the fortifications[7] and the well-laid gardens[8] around these Vihāras are mentioned. Elsewhere we also get interesting description of the tasteful decorations in them.[9] The most important feature of the Vihāras as described by the grants was the worship of images. In some Vihāras there were images of several Buddhas, while in some other Vihāras there was only one image of the Buddha. Hiuen Tsiang in his account refers to images of Seven Buddhas in a Vihāra built by the king Śīlāditya.[10] This shows that the worship of the images of the previous Buddhas and of Gautama Buddha was in vogue even in the Valabhī period. This, as we have mentioned above, consisted of snapana-gandha-dhūpa-puṣpa mālya dipa-taila, etc. I-Tsing gives a detailed account of the way in which a Buddhist image was bathed and worshipped.[11] The priest in charge of performing the ceremony of worshipping the image was known as the Pādamula, and grants made special provision for his livelihood.

As regards the nature of Buddhism and its subsequent progress, we know that both the Mahāyāna and the Hinayāna[12] schools prevailed at Valabhī. When Hiuen Tsiang visited western India in about A.D. 640 he found monasteries everywhere and the followers of the Hinayāna Sammatiya as well as the Mahāyāna Ṣthavira schools. However, it cannot be doubted that Buddhism in Valabhī had a leaning towards the Hinayāna sect in the early stages of its development, as a reference to the Bhikṣus who practised the eighteen Nikāyas

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1 Glāna-pratyaya-bhaiṣajya means a preparation of medicine used as a requisite for sickness.

2 Usually a Bhikṣu was to keep three chivıras in all, i.e., the inner garment (antaravasaka), the upper garment (uttarasanga), and the extra garment intended for protection against cold (Sanghāti); cf. Kosambi, *Buddha Sangha nō Parıchaya*, p. 3.

3 Diskalkar, " Dhruvasena III's undated grant," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, p. 35.

4 *Ibid.* Śīlāditya I's grant,.

5 Barnett, " Valā Copper-plate Grant," *E. I.*, XIII, p. 330 and Bühler, *op. cit.*, IV p. 174.

6 Bühler, " Guhasena's grant of V.S. 240," *I. A.*, VII, p. 67.

7 Bühler, " A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, IX, p. 237.

8 Bhandarkar's list Nos. 1333, 1341, 1360, etc.; Achārya's Nos. 54, 63 and 84.

9 (*Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūla-Kalpa*, 587-591), Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, p. 24.

10 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

11 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

12 Kimura, " A Historical Study of the terms Mahāyāna and Hinayāna and Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism," *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta), XIII, p. 45 ff. and XI, pp. 1-43.

would imply. It shows the existence of some Hinayāna school, most probably the Sammatiya.[1] But in the hey-day of Valabhī, i.e., in the sixth and the seventh centuries, the chief form of religion must have been Mahāyānism.[2] It is possible that the influence of Nālandā was responsible for the growth of the Māhāyāna sect at Valabhī. The form of Mahāyānism that prevailed in Valabhī was that of the Ṣṭhavira school. as followers of this school were found by Hiuen Tsiang[3] in Junāgaḍh, not far off from Valabhī. We have the testimony of this author, who speaks of the monks Ṣṭhiramati and Guṇamati the far famed champions of Abhidharma or the beginning of the Mahāyānism. In the numerous copper-plates of the Maitrakas we have direct references to the anointing and bathing of the Buddha's images. Sometimes the identity of the Buddha's images can be inferred from expressions like "Buddha-Bhaṭṭāraka"[4] occurring in the copper-plates. We have even a copper-plate grant of Dharasena IV where the Yodhāvaka monastery is donated with gifts, especially meant for the Mahāyāna monks staying in it.[5] Some Mahāyānic clay-seals are also reported to have been found[6] in Vaḷā and so also in the excavation conducted by Rev. Fr. Heras on the site of an ancient Buddhist monastery. Similar seals and a black stone image of Buddha (?) with the Uśnāśa well preserved were discovered.[7] Recently a full-length statue of the Buddha[8] which was mistaken for the image of Dhundhali Māla, a local saint, was found lying on the top of the Iśalvā hill near Vaḷā. The Abbhal Girasia's field in Vaḷā has yielded five bronze statues of the Buddha[9] which are now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum.[10] All these support the existence of Mahāyānism in Valabhī.

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[1] Hiuen Tsiang's remark on this is as follows: "There are some hundred Sangharāmas, with about 6,000 priests. Most of them study the little vehicle, according to the Sammatiya school." Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] Some sort of misunderstanding seems to prevail amongst scholars about the nature of Buddhist sects in Valabhī. Dr. Sankalia in the *University of Nālandā*, p. 180, and Dr. Diskalkar, in his article on "Buddhist Monasteries in Valabhī," *Proceedings of the Seventh All India Oriental Conference Report*, p. 813, have laid undue stress on the preponderance of the Hinayāna on the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang's statement. There is evidence to show that the Mahāyāna sect also prevailed there.

[3] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 268; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246.

[4] Diskalkar, "An undated plate of Dhruvasena III," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.) I, p. 35.

[5] Bhandarkar, "A Valabhi Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 14. The unpublished relevant text of this plate as read by Dr. G. M. Dikshit is: नुराष्ट्रेषु हस्तवप्राहार योधावक्र ग्रामे दिविरपतिस्कंदभट्ट का (रित) (विहाराय) नानादेशा... भ्यागत महानिकार्य्याभिक्षुसंघाय योधावक ग्रामस्यैव.........etc., lines 12-13.

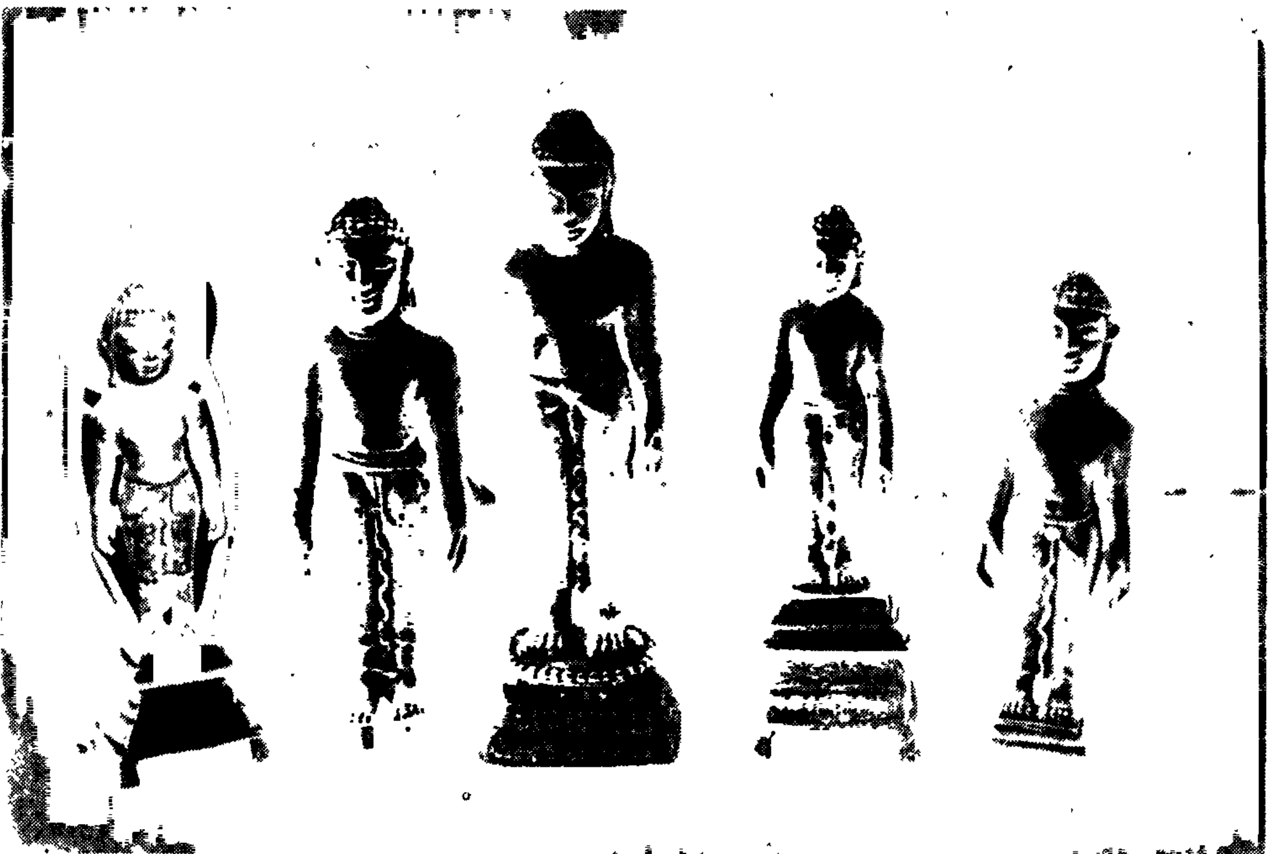
[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 334.

[7] Numerous votive clay seals with the Buddhist creed in the characters of about sixth century were also discovered, cf. the unpublished *Catalogue of the Finds in Valabhī* in Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, prepared by Dr. Sānkalia, Type, K.C. b. 26.

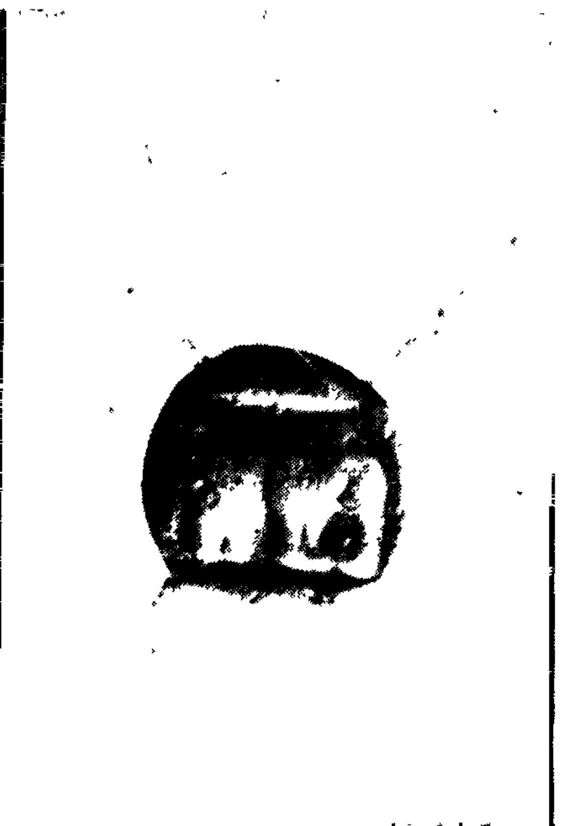
[8] *Annual Report Watson Museum*, Rajkot, 1938-9, p. 29.

[9] *Pro. Rept. A. S. I. W. C.*, 1915, Appendix, X. G., p. 30. On the pedestals, of one of these images Dr. Bhandarkar has deciphered a Mahāyānic inscription as: dharmmaya prati (m); Maghayaṇasa; while inscriptions on the other two read: (1) Sam Va 200-20, (2) Upā Vi (si) Kā(?)

[10] See pl. opposite (i) By courtesy of the curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, and (ii) By courtesy of Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J.



FIVE BRONZE IMAGES FROM VALA



A BUDDHIST SEAL FROM VALA

Further impetus given to Buddhism by the royal family can be seen from Hiuen Tsiang's account of Śīlāditya I. The traveller writes: "Every year he convoked an assembly called Moksha Mahāparishad, and summoned the priests of the four quarters. He offered them 'the four things' in religious charity; he also gave them sets of three garments used in their religious services, and also bestowed on them the seven precious substances and jewels in wonderful variety. This meritorious custom has continued in practice without interruption till now."[1] Similarly, Dhruvapaṭa (i.e., Dhruvasena II) is described as follows: "Quite recently he has attached himself sincerely to faith in the three 'precious ones.' Yearly he summons a great assembly, and for seven days gives away most valuable gems, exquisite meats, and on the priests he bestows in charity the three garments and medicaments, or their equivalent in value, and precious articles made of rare and costly gems of the seven sorts. Having given these in charity, he redeems them at twice their price."[2] These details are further supported by references to the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings donated to various Buddhist institutions.

Thus after considering all the points from the archæological as well as epigraphical evidences Buddhism in Valabhī should not be estimated as leaning towards any particular sect only. It was universal in spirit, and in the fitness of things worthy of fame, so that Valabhī acquired prominence as a seat of learning.[3] Though Valabhī was a receiving centre of Hinayāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, it must have been a radiating centre as well. Its thousands of monks and nuns must have influenced the culture of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ after the sixth century.

Jainism: Coming to the question of Jainism we see the Jaina Sūtra and the later literature confirms the fact that Jainism had spread in Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwāḍ from remote antiquity; for it is said that the scene of the Renunciation of Neminātha, the twenty-first Tirthaṅkar, was laid in Kāṭhiāwāḍ.[4] However, for the present, there is no archæological evidence to substantiate this statement.

The first wave of Jainism passed over Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwāḍ when Bhadrabāhu went to the south in the fourth century B.C.[5] Evidence of its existence in this part of the country is available from the Kṣatrapa period only. It consists primarily in the use of a Jaina technical term 'Kevalajñana,'[6]

[1] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 261-2.

[2] Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

[3] Takakusu (Itsing's) *Records of the Buddhist World*, p. 177.

[4] Sankalia, "The Story in Stone of the Great Renunciation of Neminatha," *I. H. Q.*, XVI, p. 314 ff.

[5] Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

[6] 'Kevalijñāna' is a term meaning arrived at the knowledge of the Kevalins (omniscience-perfect sage).

etc., in an inscription of Jayadaman's grandson[1] which was found in a cave at Junāgaḍha.

Coming to the question of Jainism in Valabhī we know that traditionally it was known to be the home of Jainism in early mediæval times after its shifting from Magadha (particularly in the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D.). It was here that the Śvetāmbar canons were collected and published.[2] However, it is surprising that Valabhī inscriptions are absolutely silent about it. Out of about hundred copper-plates, not a single one refers to a Saṅgha or a Jaina religious order, Jaina images, etc., as some of them do to the Buddhist Vihāra, Saṅghas and images. The peaucity of epigraphical evidence, apart from an archæological one, is a puzzle[3] and all that we can say about it is that the influence of Jainism in Valabhī may not have been as great as that of Buddhism.

Of the existence of Jaina learning, however, evidence is not wanting. In the beginning of the Maitraka rule, Valabhī was the scene of a great scriptural activity. In ancient days, it was customary in India to transmit learning from generation to generation orally, and this state of affairs continues down to the present time at least in the case of the old type of Pāthasālās[4] which teach subjects like Jainism, Sanskrit, etc. This will show that it is not the want of knowledge of the art of writing to which this state of affairs can be ascribed. For according to the Jaina tradition Lord Ṛṣabha taught the art of writing eighteen scripts[5] to his daughter Brahmi in the third ara (spoke) of the present Avasarpini period of the wheel of time. The Vedic Hindus, on the other hand, ascribe it to Brahma, the creator of the Universe. Leaving aside these prehistoric items of a very remote age, we can give ample proofs of the fact that India knew the art of writing in the remote past. Various scripts such as the Brāhmi and the Kharōṣṭhi[6] bear full testimony to this. It appears that the sacred works of the Jainas were not reduced to writing for their desire of strictly observing their mahāvrata, viz., *aprigraha*[7] (destitute of possession). This prevented them from resorting to writing. Moreover, those saints who preserved

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[1] Banerjee and Sukthankar, " Three Kshatrapa Inscriptions," *E. I.*, XVI, p. 239.

[2] Devasena, *Darsanasāra*, VII. " Sorathe Valahie uppanno sevado sangho." Hariṣeṇa, *Bṛhattakathākośa*, 69-80.

[3] It may be suggested that the absence of any record of the Maitraka kings regarding any donations or grants made to the Jainas may be due to the ' Aprigraha ' (destitute of possession) rule followed by the latter.

[4] Kapadia, " The Jaina System of Education," *J. U. B.*, VIII, Pt. IV, pp. 218-9.

[5] Kapadia, " Outline of Palæography," *J. U. B.*, VI, Pt. VI, pp. 93-4.

[6] Heras, " The Eastern Island Script and the Script of Mohenjo Daro," *A. B. O. R .I.*, XIX, Pt. II, pp. 122-6.

[7] In the case of the Vedic literature people thought that by reducing things to writing, the sacred possession of the race might pass into profane hands, and they also thought that things could be better grasped orally from teachers; and over and above there was danger of a scribe committing errors which might transform the original out of recognition.

the *MSS.* were denounced.[1] But time willed it otherwise and eventually the rules came to be modified,[2] so much so that permission was given even for keeping any of the five types[3] of the *MSS.* pertaining to the *Nijjttis* of Kaliyasuya[4] in the event the retentive capacity, the grasping power and the intellect getting deteriorated.[5] Later on, it was found absolutely necessary to prepare a number of *MSS.* of the Jaina canonical literature.

From the Jaina literature we understand that during the time of Skaṇḍila Śūri a famine occurred which lasted for twelve years.[6] This is confirmed by the epigraphical records obtained from the Mahāsthān[7] and the Sohgaura[8] inscriptions which mention the famine relief measures taken in this connection. Some people believe that the famine worked havoc on the Jaina scriptures

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[1] Kapadia, " Redaction of the Jaina Canon," *A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 60 ff, note 4-7. It is also known that penances were prescribed to those who wrote even one letter:

जत्तियमेत्ता वारा मुंचइ बंधति व जत्तिया वारा।
जति अक्खराणि लिहति व लहुगा जं च आवज्जे ॥"

Bhasa on Kappa as quoted by Kapadia.
In Cunni (p. 21) on Desaveyaliya, we find a similar reference:
Another reference is also found in the Bhasa on Nisiha and Bhasa on Kappa.

जिनग " जिन दिट्ठंतो वग्गुर लेवे य जाल चक्के य " and " अप्पत्थं तु खप्पत्थेसु असंजमो भवइ "

[2] In the Cunni (p. 21) on Dasaveyaliga it is said:

काल पुण पडुच्च चरणकरणट्ठा अवोच्छित्तिनिमित्तं च गेण्हमाणस्स पोत्थए संजमो भवइ।"

[3] Kapadia, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-3.

[4] Kāliyasuya is that Sūtra which is studied—recited during the first and last paurusis of both night and day (paurusis is the period that elapses from sun-rise to the time when the shadow of an object is equal to its height. In short, it practically comes to about three hour,

सर्वस्यापि वस्तुनो यदा स्वप्रमाणच्छाया जायते तदा पौरुषी भवति ।

Malayagiri in his commentary on Nandi says so). In the Bhasa on Nisaha (XII) it is observed:

" कप्पति पोत्थगपणगं कालियणिज्जुत्तिकोसट्ठा । "

[5] In the Visehacunni on Nisiha, it is remarked:
मेहा ओगहण–धारणादिपरिहाणि जाणिऊण कालियसुयणिज्जुत्तिणिमित्त वा पोत्थगपणग कप्पति। कोसो त्ति समुदाओ।"

[6] In the Jaina literature we come across three twelve years famines prior to this. They occurred in the time of Bhadrabahu-Svāmin, Arya Suhastin (c. Vira Samvat 291) and Vajrasvāmin respectively. The first of them was terrible, for, it made all the Munis except Bhadrabahusvamin forget Ditthivaya. As regards the other two famines, it appears that it did not affect the knowledge of the Jaina scriptures in case of the survivors But these famines must have severely told upon the supply of food—an inference can be drawn from the following lines occurring in the Cunni (Pt. I, p. 404) on Avassaya:—cf.

Kapadia, *op. cit.*

"इतोयवइरस्वामी दक्खिणावहे विहरति-दुब्भिक्खं च जाय वारसवरिसग सव्वतो समंता छिन्नपथा,
निराधारं जातं। ताहे वइरस्वामी विज्जाए आहडं पिंड तद्दिवस आणेति।

[7] Bhandarkar, " An Undated Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahasthan," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 83 ff.

[8] Jayaswal, " The text of the Sohgaura Plate," *E. I.*, XXII, p. 1 ff. This inscription is a public placard issued by the council of ministers of Sravasti, and is a document relating to famine relief measures.

while others maintain that all the principal *Anuyogadharas* (preceptors) except Skaṇḍila Śūri died in northern India.[1] In the midst of hunger and starvation it was very difficult to remember the true knowledge and naturally people began to forget the old doctrine. So Skaṇḍila Śūri summoned a council of the Jaina saints at Mathurā[2] and made up the Kāliyasuya by taking a note of whatever could be gathered from them.[3] A similar attempt was made by Nāgārjuna at Valabhī.[4] Unfortunately, the version of Nāgārjuna did not tally with that of Skandila Śūri in its entirety.[5] Hence an attempt to improve the situation was made later on by the council held at Valabhī, under the presidentship of Devardhi Gani Ksamāsramaṇa, after the terrible famine, which lasted for twelve years, came to an end during the reign of the Maitraka ruler Dhruvasena.[6] It is further said that queen Chandralekhā, the daughter of the king of Ujjaini took an active[7] part at this council.[8]

Coming to the work done in the Valabhī council we know that all the important works of the Jainas, which were then available, were put into writing. This event is technically known as "pustakārohana of the Jaina Āgamas" or Redaction of the Jaina Canon.[9] Unfortunately, we have neither a complete list wherein these works are mentioned, nor any source mentioning the order in which they were written.

At this council of Valabhī under Devardhi Gaṇi not only the work written at Mathurā and Valabhī were rewritten and codified but some more were added to the previous list. A serious attempt was made to reconcile the differences in the two versions pertaining to the two councils held previously.

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1 *Cunni on Nandi*, p. 8.

2 Muni Kalyanvijayji, *Virnirvāṇa Saṁvat or Jainakāla Gaṇanā*, p. 188 ff.

3 *Ibid.*

4 (*a*) *Ibid. Kathāvali*, p. 298.

(*b*) a *MSS.* of Bhadresvar Suri's Kahāvali also confirms this:

"अत्थि 'महुरा' उरीए सुयसमिद्धो खंदिलो नामसूरी, तहा 'वलहि' नयरीए नागज्जुणो नाम सूरी । तेहि य जाए बारसवरिसिए दुक्काले निव्वडभावओ बिफुट्टिं (?) काऊण पेसिया दिसोदिसं साहवो । गमिउं च कहवि दुत्थं ते पुणो मिलिया सुगाले । जाव मज्झायंति ताव खंडुखुरुडीहूयं पुव्वाहियं । ततो मा सुयवोच्छिती होउ ति पारद्धो सूरीहिं सिद्धतुद्धारो । तत्थवि ज न वीसरीयं तं तहेव संतवियं । पम्हुट्ठाणं उणपुव्वावरावेह तसुत्तत्थाणुसारओ कया सघंडणा ।
cf. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

(*c*) Hemachandra Suri, in his *Commentary on Yogasāstra*, says that the Agamas were got written by Skandila and Nagarjuna Suri, p. 207.

(*d*) Malayagiri's *Commentary on Joisakarandaga*, p. 41.

5 *Ibid.* This happened sometimes between Vira Sam. 827 and 840.

6 Jacobi, *Kalpa Sutra*, p. 270 and Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, V, Pt. II, p. 432.

7 Shah, *Jainism in Northern India*, p. 68.

8 Muni Kalyanavijay, *op. cit.* and Kalpasūtra state the period of this council held by Devardhigani as Vira Samvat 980 (according to Skandiliyas and v.s. 993 according to Nāgārjuniyas). This difference had its origin in the fact that some saints thought that 980 years had then elapsed since the nirvāṇa (death) of Lord Mahāvira, whereas others thought that 993 years had elapsed.

9 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 63; cf. Muni Kalyānavijayaji, *op. et loc. cit.*

In cases where this failed, one of the variants was noted in the original Āgamas and the other in the commentary.[1] Practically in the Jaina council, the literature was written according to the version of Mathurā[2] council as a connected link, while the Joisakaraṇḍaga (which supplies us with astronomical knowledge) is based on the Valabhī.[3] The practice of referring to a third party for a controversial question was set aside, and codified works were looked upon as the final authorities. The codification acted as a preventive from further modernization of the sacred works.[4] Several vaṇṇaas (descriptions) occurring in more than one Āgama and which were written only once at full length but were not reproduced (*ad verbatim*) a second time, were referred to merely by writing the word vaṇṇaa[5] and indicating the source of the parallel description. Thus the result of the Jaina council at Valabhī was the enshrining of the sacred lore in the manuscript books.

In the Jaina literature, Valabhī is described as a great *tirtha* (a holy place).[6] The Chinese travellers being Buddhists may not have mentioned this fact in their accounts, nor have they given any details about the prevalence of this sect in the country.

Another proof of the existence of Jainism in Valabhī is the reference to Mallavādin in the literary works. Malla was one of the greatest Jaina dialecticians and the author of Nayachakra. The title of Vādin was conferred on him when, according to tradition, he defeated a Buddhist monk in a controversy on the superiority of a religious question at Valabhī. Three different stories have come down to us for Mallavādin at Valabhī as follows:—

According to the Prabhāvakacharita, Malla was the youngest of the three brothers—the names of the other two being Jitayasas or Jinayasas and Yakṣa. They lived at Valabhī with their mother Durlabhādevi. They had a maternal uncle who was a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk named Jinānanda Suri. When defeated by a Buddhist monk Nanda or Buddhānanda in a public disputation at Bhṛgukachchha[7] (Broach) he left that city and came to Valabhī where he made his nephews his disciples. All the three received high education

[1] In the latter case there was a reference to the Nāgārjuna school: *Tika on Ayara*, pp. 245-303 "नागार्जुनीयास्तु पठन्ति—एवं खलु." Another reference is found in *Tika on Suyagada*, p. 64.

[2] Jinprabhava Sūri, *Tapagachha Pattavali*, p. 93.

[3] Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Winternitz, *op. cit.*, II, p. 450, f. 3. The idea was of lessening the trouble in writing and saving the materials required for that work.

[6] Charpentier, *Uttaradhyana Sūtra*, p. 16; Jinaprabhav Sūri, *Vividha Tirtha Kalpa*, p. 29; Rajasekharasuri, *Purātan Prabandha Sangrah*, pp. 89-93.

[7] Existence of Mallavādin sect in this part of India is recorded in an inscription, cf. Altekar, "Surat plates of Karkkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa, Śaka, 743," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 135.

at Valabhī and became great masters of Śāstras. Jitayasas wrote a Nyāsa—a sort of commentary—on a work of grammar, known as the *Viśrāntavidyādharavarā*[1] (probably Viśranta Vidyādhara). Yakṣa composed a Saṁhitā known as Nimittastangabōdhini while Malla wrote his famous treatise on Jaina philosophy known as Nayachakra. Mall went to Bhṛgukachchha and avenged himself on his uncle's opponent Buddhānanda by publicly defeating him in the royal assembly, in token of which he was given the title of *Vādin*. There seems to be some truth in this episode, for soon after the fall of Valabhī power, Buddhism gradually disappeared from Gujarāt and Jainism took its place.

The second story about this Mallavādin is given by Merutunga in the Prabandhachintamaṇi. According to it, king Śīlāditya of Valabhī once decided to have a public meeting where the Jainas and the Buddhists were made to confront each other and to establish the truth of their respective sects; the vanquished of the two was to leave the country as a penalty. Consequently when the Jainas were defeated and left Valabhīpur, king Śīlāditya's young nephew Malla, who was a Jaina by birth, remained behind alone. As he grew into manhood, he was annoyed at the arrogance of the Buddhists, who were puffed up with their victory, and so he decided to take revenge on them. However, as there were no Jainas in the city he had to receive his education from the Buddhists. Nevertheless, he prepared himself to defeat them by self-education. One night, while he was memorizing his lessons, he saw a deity. When asked to specify a boon he wished from her he prayed for a Grantha (a book) which would teach him the art of dialectics for defeating the Buddhists. The goddess blessed him with the *Nayachakra*.[2] He studied the book and then requested the king to arrange a public disputation. The king Śīlāditya acceded to his request and all the conditions of the previous meeting were agreed to once again. The Buddhists were defeated and had to withdraw from the city altogether and the Jaina Āchāryas were invited to take their place. The title of *Vādin* was bestowed on the victorious Malla.

The story of Mallavādin as given in the *Prabandhakōṣa* by Śri Rajśekara Sūri, is as follows:—In a village of Kheda in Gurjara Maṇḍala, there was a learned Brāhmin named Devāditya who had a widowed daughter named Subhāgā. She obtained a Surya charm, and became pregnant. The father scolded her for this scandal and sent her to Valabhī where she begot two sons and a daughter. While they were staying there, other boys began to ask these children about their father. The mother was pained by these queries. But the Sun gave them a dagger to be used against those who troubled them

[1] This work is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar, *Sidha-Hema, vide The Purāttatva*, Vol. IV, p. 91.

[2] One Nayachakra by Devasena Suri has come down to us consisting of 87 gāthas. It mentions Mallavādin as a great logician. However, we cannot say with certainty that it was by the help of this or the other Nayachakra that Malla defeated the Buddhists.

any more. On hearing this the king called the children and asked them about their father. In reply they employed the weapon against the king himself. One of the boys, named Śīlāditya, succeeded to the throne and became "the sun of Saurāṣṭra." He gave the kingdom of Bharukachchha to his sister. He built a chaitya on the mount Śatrunjaya and donated gifts to the Śrāvakas. Once some *Buddhist monks* approached Śīlāditya and complained against the *Jainas*. They also requested him to hold a meeting wherein they could defeat them. Śīlāditya consented to this and made it clear that the defeated side would have to leave the country. The Jainas were defeated and the king accepted the Buddhist faith. Now Śīlāditya's sister, on the death of her husband, started a penance, and converted her eight-year old son to Buddhism. The young boy asked the reason and got a reply that it was asked by his maternal uncle Sīlāditya. At this he got angry and started penance at Mallagiri mountain. On obtaining a book on Tarkaśāstra (logic), as a favour of the godess, he came to the court of Śīlāditya and told him that he wanted to defeat the Buddhists, and save the *Jainas*. And in six months' time he did it successfully.[1]

Mallavādin, who was apparently the founder of the Jaina temple and who was attached to a *Matha* at Nausāri, was very probably the same person who wrote a commentary called Dharmottaracharyā. He and his disciples belonged to the Senā Saṅgha which, according to the Paṭṭāvalis, was a branch of the Mula Saṅgha which constituted the main Digambara church.[2] This information of the Paṭṭāvalis is confirmed by the epigraphs.[3]

Dhaneśvara, the author of the famous Śatrūñjaya Mahātmya is represented as a contemporary and teacher of king Śīlāditya of Valabhī. He is said to have instructed this ruler in "purifying the Jaina doctrine and induced him to expel the Buddhists from the country and establish a number of chaityas near the Tirthas."[4] We have no proof of the Buddhist being expelled. Nevertheless, it is likely that he may have influenced one of the Śīlādityas to some extent.

Some information about the Jaina idols in Valabhī is found in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*[5] and the *Tappagachchha-paṭṭāvali*.[6] It is mentioned in the Paṭṭāvali that the idols were removed from Valabhī to Śrīmāla or Bhinamāla

[1] In the *Bṛhatkathā Kōśa* (verses 69-81) by Harisena it is mentioned that 'Ardhafalaka' 'Sampradāya' of Jainism was stopped by a non-Jaina king Vapravāda of Valabhī.

[2] James Hastings, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 474.

[3] Altekar, *op. et loc. cit.*

[4] Rehatsek, "Paper on Śatruñjaya and the Jains," *I. A.*, II, p. 195. We also know in the Śatruñjaya Mahātmya that Dhaneśvara Sūri is said to have defeated the Buddhists by Syādvād and the book was written at Valabhī.

[5] Merutunga, *op. cit.*, p. 228 (Gujarati translation by Shastri).

[6] Jinaprabhavasuri, *op. cit.*, p. 89 ff.

at the time of Valabhī's destruction and Gandharva-vādi Vetāl Śānti Śuri protected the Saṁgha. The author of the *Prabandhachintāmani* narrates a miracle about idols that disappeared from Valabhī and went to Somanātha Pāṭaṇ, showing thus in a graphic way the removal of the idols on the decline and fall of the Valabhī power.[1]

In the *Bhadrabāhucharita*[2] we are told that king Bhupāla of Karahāta invited the Śvetāṁbara monks of Valabhī at the request of his wife Nrikulā-devi.[3] This supports the predominant power of the Śvetāṁbara Jainas of Valabhī. Tod, while describing the Jaina temples of the city, says, "in the sixth century 300 bells of the Jaina temples in the capital Valabhīpur invited the pious to be assembled."[4]

Thus we can conclude that the existence of Jainism in Valabhī is an established fact, in spite of the absence of the epigraphical evidence. "It is here that the Jaina church marks the end of the dark period of Jainism in northern India[5] and the canonical and other literature of the Jainas was put into writing during the reign of the Valabhī king Dhruvasena I, where Devardhi Gaṇi stands like a lighthouse to end darkness of the unrecorded period."

Sun-worship : The word Maitraka itself is supposed by various scholars to have been derived from Mitra, the Sun. However, in the absence of any definite proof the assumption cannot be accepted as absolute.[6] On the other hand, out of about twenty Valabhī rulers only the fifth king Dharapaṭṭa, seems to have professed the faith of the Sun. As he was neither the founder of the Maitraka dynasty nor a great king of importance, his title Paramāditya-

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[1] In India there is a belief that idols disappear from the place where danger is evident. The belief is also found in other countries. Forbes has noted from *Aeneid*, II, pp. 351-353, that whenever people saw some danger for the country before them they used to tie the idol with chains. We also know that the Phœnicians used to keep the idols of Melcorth tied fast. The same was practised by the Romans when their forts were about to be surrounded.

The idol of Chandraprabhava at Patana is identified by Mr. Sārābhai Navab in his Jainachitra Kalsadrum with the one which had been taken from Valabhī.

[2] Ratnanandi, *Bhadrabahucharita*, Ch. IV, verse 133 ff.

[3] Luders, "Kadamba Plates of Prabhutavarsha," *E. I.*, IV, p. 338 ff; cf. Jacobi, "uber d Entstehung d Cvetambara U. Digambara," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlan dischen Gesellschaft*, XXXVIII, p. 39 ff.

[4] Tod, *Travels in Western India*, p. 268.

[5] According to the Digambara tradition Jaina Sidhanta was completely lost or forgotten immediately after the great famine in Magadha.

[6] The legendary account about the solar origin of the Maitraka king and their following the Sun cult is given by Merutunga and Tod, but the epigraphical records clearly show that most of the Maitrakas were devotees of Śiva. These writers have mentioned the name of the Valabhī ruler as Śilāditya, while the copper-plate grants have described all the seven kings known by the same name as staunch Śaivites.

bhakta[1] does not support this theory. At any rate, the adoption of this title, even by an unimportant ruler, shows the prevalence of the Sun-cult in the Valabhī kingdom.

The cult must have existed prior to the rise of Bhāgavatism, for the Chaṇḍogya Upaniṣad, one of the oldest Upaniṣads, refers to Kṛṣṇa Devakiputra as a disciple of Ghora Angirāsa, a worshipper of the Sun.[2] With the rise of Vaiṣṇavism and the survival of Śaivism, Buddhism and Jainism during the reign of the Śakas and the Kuśānas the cult of the Sun did not perish, although it had no great influence or popularity.

The worship of the Sun ultimately merged in Vaiṣṇavism but preserved a certain individuality of its own. The Manḍasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I[3] and Indor copper-plate grant of Skanda Gupta show that the Sun-worship, which prevailed in central India in those days, was patronised by the guilds.[4]

Dharapaṭṭa, the Maitraka king, whose predecessors and successors were Śaivites and whose brother Dhruvasena I, was a devotee of Viṣṇu, himself styled as *paramādityabhakta*.[5] This shows that even Sun-worship was equally patronised as Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism by the Maitraka kings.

It is also known that the contemporary Huṇas, Toramana and Mihirakūla, were both worshippers of the Sun and Fire respectively.[6] And further, during the reign of king Jivita Gupta II, Solar-worship was current at Deo-Baranark.[7] There is also evidence to show that the Pūṣpabhūti rulers of Kanauj, who ruled in the sixth and the seventh centuries A.D. were devotees of the Sun.[8]

The Brāhmaṇa donor of the endowment for the Sun-temple at Indrapura always recited " the hymns of the hōtra-sacrifices."[9] The mention of such *hōtras*, viz., Agñihōtra, bali, Caru, Vaiśvadeva, and atithi, in the Maitraka grants[10] would show that the Brāhmaṇas who performed these hōtras may have been Sun-worshipping people.

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1 Diskalkar, " Bhadva Copper-plates of Dharasena II of v.s. 252," *A. B. O. R. I.*, IV, p. 35.

2 *Chhandogya Upaniṣad*, III, 17, 6; *Kausitaka Brāhmaṇa*, 30, 6.

3 Fleet, " Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumaragupta and Bandhuvarman," *C. I. I.*, III (18) p. 85 ff.

4 *Ibid.*, (16), p. 71.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 167.

6 Fleet, " Note by Fleet," *I. A.*, XV, p. 361; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. IV, Nos. 19-20.

7 Fleet, " Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivita Gupta II," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 218.

8 *Ibid.* (52), p. 232; Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, 352; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 223.

9 Fleet, *Ibid.*, (16), p. 71.

10 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

The reference to a Sun-temple in a copper-plate of king Śīlāditya I further supports the existence of Sun-worship.[1] The temple as described in the inscription, was a private one. And it throws a good deal of light on the practice of worshipping the Sun god in early mediæval Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād. No signs of existence of such a temple are found in the finds of Valabhī. However, a good number of Sun-temples, which have been discovered in western India from Multan down to Cutch and northern Gujarāt would show, according to Burgess, that there may have been some such temples in the Valabhī kingdom as well.[2]

From the records of the Gurjara kings we know that king Daḍḍa I and Daḍḍa II were also devotees of the Sun during that period.[3] The rulers, as their grants have proved, were in possession of the land round about Broach.[4] This further supports the existence of the same cult in this part of Gujarāt, though confined to a small section of the people only.

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1 Bühler, " Dhank Plates of 290," *I. A.*, IX, p. 237

2 *Vide*, Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

3 Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 *Ibid.*

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

(A) BUDDHIST SYSTEM

Valabhī was much celebrated as a seat of learning, and vied with the sister university of Nālandā in promoting Buddhist studies. It is pleasant to record that the institutions of the Buddhists were accorded the same patronage by the Maitraka kings, the rulers of Valabhī, as the institutions of other religions, and among the extant grants of these rulers a good number are those issued to the Buddhist *Vihāras.*[1] According to Hiuen Tsiang, the first Chinese traveller to visit Valabhī, "It had about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Brethren adherents of the Hinayāna Sammatiya school."[2] Hiuen Tsiang also refers to the famous monks Āchārya Sthiramati and Guṇamati who resided in the monastery outside the town.[3] Both were pupils of Vasubandhu, the famous *paṇḍita* from Nālandā ; and a commentary on his work the *Abhidharmma-kōśa* (an introduction to Mahāyāna), by Vasumitra, a disciple of Guṇamati, translated into Chinese before Hiuen Tsiang visited India, was very popular in China.[4] Hiuen Tsiang's statement about the existence of the Buddhist Vihāras are now confirmed by the copper-plate records of the Maitraka kings. The Vihāra mentioned by him as having been built by an *arhat* named Ochelo, has been identified with Bappapā diya Vihāra of Bhikṣu Sthiramati.[5] His reference to the monks from foreign countries and belonging to the Hinayāna sect, is borne out by the expressions such as : "*Nānādeśasamatvāgatarthya bhikṣusaṅghasya*" and "*Aṣṭādasanikāyābhyantarāryyabhikṣu saṅghasya*" which occur in the copper-plate grants.[6]

It would appear from I-Tsing's account that like Nālandā, Valabhī too received *alumni* who resorted there from distant places. These were the two universities which students in I-Tsing's time generally attended to acquire the stamp of culture and refinement, after finishing the usual secondary education. As the same traveller observes, "Thus instructed by their teachers and instructing others they pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in central India, or in the country of Valabhī (Waḷā) in western India."[7] "These two places," he continues, "are like Chin-ma, Shih-Chu, Lungmen, and Chue-li in China, and these eminent and accomplished men

[1] Names of about fifteen Vihāras may be gathered from the copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings, which included separate vihāras for women.

[2] Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246.

[3] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 266, 268.

[4] *Ibid.* The author of the M. M. K. refers to another famous monk Piṇḍachārika, who mentioned by the same writer flourished in the days of king Śilāditya. Cf. Jayaswal, *op. cit.* (35 Patala) p. 43.

[5] Bühler, " A Valabhī Copper-plate Grant, Sam. 310," *I. A.*, VI, p. 9; Dikshit, " Valabhī the Ancient Buddhist University," *Historical and Economic Studies*, p. 59.

[6] Bhandarkar, " A Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, I, p. 14 ff.

[7] Takakusu, I-Tsing, *Records of the Buddhist Religion*, p. 177.

assemble in crowds, discuss possible and impossible doctrines, and after having been assured of the excellence of their opinions by wise men, become far-famed for their wisdom."[1]

Unfortunately, however, save for this incidental mention of Valabhī by I-Tsing, there are hardly any means at our disposal to reconstruct the picture of this once famous seat of learning. Nevertheless, since it was a Buddhist institution we may probably take it for granted that making due allowances for local peculiarities, the general lines of its organisation were the same as at other Buddhist universities of the time. We may, therefore, suppose that as at Nālandā and Vikramaśilā opportunities to attend the university were available only to those who had received their primary and secondary education at these centres,[2] and to such of the outsiders as were successful in the test held before the entrance.[3] This test was very difficult, and it was taken by a *dwāra-paṇḍita* (the keeper of the gates) who guarded the way to the higher university studies. The candidates were required to prove their skill in refuting doctrines, possible and impossible, and in the words of Hiuen Tsiang, many had to go away " disappointed with downcast heads with their brains simmering and their hearts rankling with intellectual humiliation."[4] The high standard of examination could be deduced from the observation of the same pilgrim that two or three candidates only were declared successful, out of every ten,[5] and again, " one must have studied deeply both old and new (books) before getting admission "[6] at Nālandā. By the term ' old ' and ' new ' the pilgrim presumably means the works on Hinduism and Buddhism; and the apparent contradiction[7] involved here on account of the fact recorded by Hwui Li, the

[1] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[2] The preceptors were so particular about the studies of their pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered.

[3] This is clear from the use by Hiuen Tsiang of the words ' other quarters ' and ' strangers '. Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 171.

[4] *Ibid.*, Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

[5] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 171.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] I regret I cannot agree with Dr. H. D. Sankalia, who attempts to reconcile the difference in the statements of Hiuen Tsiang and of his biographer by supposing that in these subjects " only those scholars who come from other centres of learning had to undergo (this) strict test of their knowledge before they prosecute their studies at Nālandā," for the reason that for taking part in the learned discussions which went on at the university according to the pilgrim " from morning till night " and for which " the day is not sufficient " (Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 170), knowledge of the old and the new texts was quite essential. As Santos Kumar Das has rightly observed with regard to the study of Nyāya and Tarka at the university, these subjects " required a student to have gone through the course of grammar, literature and lexicography." (Cf. Das, *The Educational System of Ancient Hindus*, p. 32.) Of course, as regards their own *alumni*, the university authorities were taking care to see that the minimum requirements were complied with (although they were not tested by the gate-keeper), while in the case of those coming from other centres, they had to satisfy themselves that the latter had the requisite knowledge before joining the courses at Nālandā. Consequently, the university could not have made any difference between these two types of scholars, as regards these minimum qualifications.

biographer of the traveller, that these studies were also prosecuted in the University, is resolved, if we suppose that the candidates seeking admission here were expected to know in a general way the contents of these books; while higher problems of exegesis were reserved for study in the university. Naturally enough, a high standard was demanded of the students in Sanskrit, be they Hindu or Buddhist. An idea of this standard may be obtained from I-Tsing, when he explains what we may term the pre-matriculation syllabus in this course. The child began at the age of six with the Sidda-composition,[1] which took about six months to finish. This, according to I-Tsing, was a small book of learning: "There are forty-nine letters (of the alphabet) which are combined with one another and arranged in eighteen sections; the total number of syllables is more than 10,000, or more than 300 *ślokas*. Generally speaking, each *śloka* contains four feet (*pādas*), each foot consisting of eight syllables; each *śloka* has therefore thirty-two syllables. Again, there are long and short *ślokas*: of these it is impossible here to give a minute account."[2] This was probably deemed a sufficient preparation to introduce the child to Pāṇini's Sūtras, which according to the same writer constituted "the foundation of all grammatical science."[3] If the children began to learn the *sūtras* when they were eight years old, they could 'repeat' the thousand *ślokas* that comprised the work, in eight months' time. This was probably followed when the child was in its ninth year, by a course in the book on *dhātu*, which consisted of another thousand verses treating of grammatical roots. At the age of ten began the study of the book on the Three *Khilas*, which was spread over a period of three years. In a long passage describing the nature of its contents, I-Tsing says, "It may be called a book on the three pieces of waste-land: (1) Aṣṭadhātu consists of 10,000 *ślokas;* (2) Wen-chàs (Manda or Munda) also consists of 1,000 *ślokas;* (3) Unadi too consists of 1,000 *ślokas*."[4] The Aṣṭadhātu or the first part of this book treated of the fundamentals of Sanskrit grammar such as the declension of nouns and the conjugation of verbs. In the second and the third parts of the book the formation of words by combining the roots and the suffixes was taught; and thus at the age of thirteen a boy completed the study of this important part of grammar. Thereafter at the age of fifteen the student was introduced to the *Vṛtti-Sūtra*, said to be one of the best commentaries on Pāṇini's work. "It cites the text of the Sūtra," writes I-Tsing, "and explains minutely its manifold meaning, consisting altogether of 18,000 *ślokas*. It exposes the laws of the universe, and the regula-

1 If this work was the same as the one mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang under the title of *Sidhavastu*, and which he says was to be put into the hands of the students at the very same age, it consisted of twelve chapters (Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 78) to master Sanskrit, as would appear from the first chapter. This book on elementary Sanskrit grammar was possibly meant to encourage students in their efforts, as it appears from the name of its first chapter "success be there" (Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 171-2.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 172-5.

tions of gods and men. Boys of fifteen begin to study this commentary, and understand it after five years."[1] It would appear from this account that what the students had learnt by rote of Pāṇini's Sūtras at the age of eight, was not explained to them by means of this commentary—a process which took five years of intense study. With this grounding in Sanskrit, which was the medium of instruction in higher studies, the students were eligible to join the course in the University. As the same writer says: "If men of China go to India for study they have first of all to learn this (grammatical) work, (and) then other subjects—; if not, their labour will be thrown away."[2] Presumably the *Vṛtti-Sūtra* was also one of the subjects included in the matriculation curricula, proficiency in which opened the gates to the university.

The other subjects taught in the secondary stage were *Śilpavidyā* (art), *Abhidharmakośa* (metaphysics), *Cikitsāvidyā* (medicine), *Hetuvidyā* (logic), and probably arithmetic.[3]

In the university the study of these various subjects was continued. The students learnt "composition in prose and verse"[4] and devoted themselves to logic (*Hetuvidyā*), and metaphysics (*abhidharmakośa*). They sharpened their wits by the study of *Nyāya-dvāratarka-Śāstra*, a science which taught them to distinguish between valid and invalid inferences; while the training in the *Jātakamālā* augmented their powers of comprehension. An idea of the courses available at Nālandā may perhaps be obtained from what the biographer of Hiuen Tsiang says concerning the studies which the latter did at Nālandā. At this university, we are told Hiuen Tsiang heard the explanation of *yogaśāstra*, *Nyāya-nu-sāra-śāstra*, *Prānyamula-śāstra*, *Śata-śāstra*.[5] He studied the latter two śāstras particularly to overthrow the conclusions of the Sāṅkhya philosophy of the Brāhmaṇas. And the fact that he was ultimately successful in overcoming the exponents of this school,[6] proves that the study of these subjects at the Buddhist centres must have been thorough. Hiuen Tsiang, we are told further, mastered from 'beginning to end' "the numerous productions of secular (outside) writers: the four Vedas, works on astronomy and geography, on the medical art, magic, and arithmetic."[7] Astronomy certainly formed an important subject at Nālandā, since lofty astronomical observatories are referred to by Hiuen Tsiang's biographer, who says "the observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds"; and continuing, "From the windows one may see how the

[1] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Beal (Hwui Li), *Life of Hieun Tsiang*, pp. 112, 153.

[4] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[5] Beal, *op. cit.*, pp. 112 and 127. The object of Pranyamula-śāstra and Śata-Śāstra, as Hwui Li says, was to refute the yoga. (Cf. Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 157.)

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 164.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

winds and the clouds (produce new forms), and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the sun and the moon (may be observed)."[1]

It was natural that Buddhist theology and philosophy should have been accorded an eminent place at the Buddhist universities as can be made out from Hwui Li's remark that "the priests, belonging to the convent, or strangers (residing therein), always reach to the number of 10,000 who all study the Great Vehicle, and also (the works belonging to) the eighteen sects."[2] It was probably during this period that the Mahāyāna branched off into two schools of thought, viz., *śūnyavāda* and *vijnānavāda*, which expressed respectively the philosophical and metaphysical aspects of this doctrine. The text book in philosophy was probably Santaraksita's *Tattvasaṅgraha*[3] with the commentary of his pupil Kamalaśika.

Nor were secular studies neglected at these centres of learning. We know, for instance, that Hiuen-Tsiang "practised himself in the *Śabdavidyā*, a synopsis of which he drew up in the square and grass characters. . . . He also wrote (copied) some four hundred chapters of sūtras and Śāstras whilst at Nālandā."[4] The Sūtras and Śāstras mentioned here must have included the *Vidyā-mantra-siddhi-śāstra*,[5] *Mulabhidharma-śāstra*,[6] *Sadharma-samparigraha-śāstra*,[7] *Prasikasa-satya-śāstra*[8] (as received in the Sammatiya school), *Mahāyānasa-parigraha*,[9] etc., as all these works are referred to either by Hiuen Tsiang or his biographer while narrating the courses of his studies.

Besides these subjects, advanced scholars (post-graduate) as we know from I-Tsiang's account, studied the commentaries on different works. One such commentary of which we know was a commentary on the *Vṛtti-Sūtras*, entitled Curni, which contained 24,000 *ślokas*.[10] About this work I-Tsiang has recorded that "It is a work of the learned Pātangali," and it "cites the former Sūtras (Pāṇini), explaining the obscure points (lit. 'piercing the skin') and analysing the principles contained in it, and it illustrates the latter commentary (*Vṛtti*),

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1 Beal, *op. cit.*, (Hwui Li), p. 111. According to the Cullavagga (VIII, 6, 3) Bukkhus had to learn the station (of the moon) in the constellations either in whole or in part and they were also supposed to know the directions of the sky. While on the other hand the low arts like that of divinition, spells, omens, astrology, sacrifices to gods, witchcraft and quackery were forbidden to them both for learning and teaching (cf. Cullavagga, V, 33, 3).

2 *Ibid.*, p. 112.

3 *G. O. S.*, XXX.

4 Beal, *op. cit.*, p. xxix.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 153.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*, I, p. 78.

10 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

clearing up many difficulties."[1] The study of this work took three years of intense labour, and it is compared by I-Tsiang to that of learning the Chun-Chin and the Yi-king in China.

The Bhartṛhari-Śāstra came next and was a commentary on the above commentary. It was written by the great scholar Bhartṛhari. The work, as I-Tsing says, "contains 25,000 *ślokas*, and fully treats of the principles of human life as well as of grammatical science, and also relates the reasons of the rise and decline of many families. The author of this work being well acquainted with the doctrine of "sole knowledge' (*Vidyāmātrā*) has skilfully discussed about (*sic*) the *Hētu* and *Udāharaṇa* (the cause and example of logic).[2] This was followed by another work of the same scholar, the Vākya-discourse containing 700 *ślokas* with its commentary portion of 7,000 *ślokas* more. The work was a "treatise on the Inference supported by the authority of the sacred teaching, and on Inductive arguments."[3] After the completion of these books a third work of Bhartṛhari, the *Pei-na* (Bēda or Vēda) was taken up. The work contained about 3,000 *ślokas* with a commentary of a scholar named Dharmapāla, comprising 14,000 *ślokas*. According to I-Tsing this book "fathoms the deep secrets of heaven and earth, and treats of the philosophy of man (lit. the essential beauty of the human principles)."[4] The Buddhist priests studied this work alongside the Vinaya pitaka[5] and the Vedas, to oppose the doctrines of the heretics.[6] The Peina was a difficult treatise so that only a few in each generation could claim proficiency in it and have their claim recognized.[7] And finally the *alumni* underwent training in what may be termed research, to use the phraseology of a later age, in all these branches of study. We know it for a fact that compilation of encyclopædias of theology, philosophy, logic, grammar and so forth formed part of this training.

The method of teaching at Nālandā and Valabhī was tutorial as well as professorial. The former seems to have been used at the primary and secondary stages, while in the university the professorial system largely prevailed. An idea of the tutorial system may be gleaned from I-Tsing's account wherein he says "He (student) goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last in the night. First the teacher bids him sit down comfortably, (selecting some passages) from the Tripiṭakas, he gives a lesson in a way that suits circumstances, and does not pass any fact or theory unexplained. He inspects his pupil's moral conduct, and warns him of defects and transgres-

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1 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 178.
2 *Ibid.*, pp. 178-9.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 180.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 181.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *Ibid.*, p. 177.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 181.

sions. Whenever he finds his pupils faulty, he makes him seek remedies and repent."[1] It is only under the tutorial system that such a personal contact between the teacher and the taught could have been maintained. " Rather be a butcher than be a priest," says the *Mulasarvastivadanikañja Vinaya Saṅgraha* (XIII, II), " a priest who gives others full ordination and leaves them untaught."[2] The *Mahāvagga* ordained that the *āchārya* should consider his pupil as his son while the pupil should look upon the teacher as his father.[3] This cordiality between the two was sure to produce good results; the student receiving all assistance from his *Upādhyāya*.[4] In fact, the preceptors were so particular about the studies of their pupils that no one was ever given a new lesson unless the old one was thoroughly mastered, and as there were no examinations at fixed intervals for a ' mass promotion ' of students to a new class, the system could work well. It enabled the more intelligent to finish their studies earlier, while in the case of others, the teachers would go on repeating their instructions until they were satisfied about the perfect mastery of the subjects taught. Revision of old lessons went on alongside the new ones, which the students learned from day to day, as I-Tsing remarks, " He (student) acquires new knowledge day by day, and searches into old subjects month after month, without losing a minute.[5]

But it was the professorial system that seems to have been specially suited to the conditions of the Buddhist universities. These universities were nothing else but large brotherhoods of monks, and hence by the very nature of their being, were compelled to go in for congregational education. If we are to believe the *Dhamadattakathā*, a student who went to Taxasilā to acquire knowledge of Śilpa had 500 fellow students taking the course with him.[6] But happily it was not the primary or secondary education that was dispensed in these *vihāras*, the *alumni* there being advanced students and senior monks. Like the professors in our universities of the present day, the teachers at these Buddhist centres lectured to large groups. But the students were not left to themselves. The teachers took care to maintain personal contact with their disciples who were encouraged to approach them and have their difficulties solved. I-Tsing observes that he was benefited immensely from the intimate conversations he used to have with his teachers.[7] This personal contact was also promoted by the discussions that were held in the seminars, which must

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1 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Vide* Samaddar, *The Glories of Magadha*, p. 151.

4 " In all Sanskrit Sūtras and Vinaya texts the term Upādhyāya is used and it is translated as ' teacher of personal instruction ' ", this remark of the learned traveller I-Tsing also supports the existence of a tutorial system. Cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

5 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

6 *Dhamadattakathā*, (Pali text, Soc. ed. I), p. 250.

7 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

have benefited the students who took leading part in the debates as well as those that merely listened to them.[1]

The obvious disadvantages inherent in the professorial system, were to a certain extent redressed by placing groups of younger scholars under senior fellows. This is hinted at both by Hiuen Tsiang and I-Tsing. For while the one says in connection with the studies at Nālandā that " the young and the old mutually help one another,"[2] the other observes that " instructed by their teachers and instructing others, they (the students) pass two or three years, generally in the Nālandā monastery in central India, or in the country of Valabhī (Waḷā) in western India."[3] An instance in point is the story mentioned in the Jātakas of the Kuru prince Sutasōma, who on having completed his studies earlier than his brother, the heir-apparent of Banaras, was required to help the latter.[4] It may be observed that this system prevailed in India as late as the nineteenth century, and Andrew Bell who saw it actually working at Madras, had it introduced in England, and it became famous under the name of monitorial system.[5]

The main feature of the training, both at the university and the schools, was the importance given to memory work. This was done by reciting different difficult works, the meaning of which the student learnt at a later stage of his study.[6] This memory work was made easy by the use of rhyme, even in works like dictionaries and elementary works on grammar, which were generally composed in verse.[7] A scholar who consulted notes or books in discourse was hardly respected.[8] I-Tsing had occasion to observe this wonderful memory training at the university. According to him, after " a practice of ten days or a month, a student feels his thoughts rise like a fountain, and can commit to memory whatever he has once heard (not requiring to be told twice)," and he further says " this is far from being a myth, for I myself have met such men."[9] In those days of memory-training, we are told, the highest ambition of an author was that his book should be memorised by scholars and become " an ornament on their neck."[10]

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[1] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 170.

[2] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 70.

[3] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[4] Cf. *Sutasoma Jātaka*, No. 537.

[5] Cf. Mujumdar, *A History of Education in Ancient India*, p. 68; Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, p. 430.

[6] Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-427.

[7] Cf. *Ibid.*; " पुस्तकम्यातु या विद्या परहस्तगतं धनम् ।
कार्यकाले समुत्पन्नेन सा विद्या न तद्धनम ॥
Subhāṣitam.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[10] तेन पीत्वा विरचिताभिदं काव्यमव्यानकान्तं
कण्णातेन्द्रो जागति विदुषांकण्ठभूषऽत्वमेयात् ॥
Vikraman kaṇde Vacharita, 18: 102.

University education was in sooth a distinct contribution of Buddhism to ancient Indian civilization. It would appear that in pre-Buddhist days the various studies were not co-ordinated one with another in a graduated series. The teaching in the *āśramas* seems to have been rather personal in that the instruction under one teacher did not at all depend upon the teaching of the others. A student, for instance, who having completed the courses available at a particular *āśrama*, wished to pursue a new subject, usually had to go to another *āśrama* for this purpose. With the establishment of the *vihāras* this difficulty was solved, and courses in the known sciences were imparted at one and the same centre.[1]

The Buddhist *vihāras* were built on the principle of the monastic brotherhood[2] where the students lived a peaceful intellectual life. The main object of these *vihāras* being the spread of Buddhist doctrines, the students were provided with all facilities for their studies. The number of students at these *vihāras* like Valabhī, Nālandā, and others, was undoubtedly very great. We know from the account of Hiuen Tsiang that at Valabhī alone there were "about 100 Buddhist monasteries with 6,000 Brethren adherents of the Hinayāna Sammatiya school."[3] Each of these monasteries was like a separate college under an abbot where compulsory training was given both for spiritual practice, higher literature, and other sciences of the age.[4] The courses must have taken at least a period of ten years of a student's life.[5] As regards the number of students and the preceptors at Nālandā, we are told that there were about 1,500 teachers at the disposal of 6,500 students who frequented these *vihāras* in search of Truth.[6] This proportion of teachers to the students is undoubtedly a very large one compared to that of the colleges of our times, and it would suggest that in spite of the prevalence of the professorial system great care was taken to build up the career of the students in different walks of life. An arresting feature of their organisation was the equality of opportunities which were made available both to rich and poor to attend these institutions, as the students were not required to pay any fees. They were practically state-foundations which also received benefactions from the faithful.[7] Speaking of

1 Ghosh, " University Education in Ancient India," *Mahā Boddhi*, p. 111.

2 Mookerjee, " Universities in Ancient India with special reference to Ayurvedic Studies," *J. U. P. H. S.*, XV, Pt. I, p. 22.

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 266.

4 Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-114.

5 *Ibid.*, Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

6 Mookerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

7 We have, for instance, epigraphical references to the Gohaka *vihāra* (probably built by a monk), the Abhayantarika *vihāra* built by the nun Mimma, the Ajjita and the Kakka *vihāra* built by traders, the Vimalagupta *vihāra* built by āchārya bhikṣu Vimalagupta, the Sthiramati vihāra, the Yakṣasūra vihāra, the Pūrnna bhatta vihāra, the Yodhāvaka vihara built by Diviraputti Skanda bhaṭṭa and the Vamśakata vihāra built by King Śilāditya I himself, all these show that both the kings and the rich citizens made benefactions for the *vihāras* either from the time of the foundations of the *vihāras* or by supporting the *vihāras* built by the monks and named after them; cf. Beal, (Hwui Li), *op. cit.*, p. 113.

such benefactions, Fa Hian, an early Chinese traveller, says that "the kings of the various countries and the heads of the Vaiśyas built *vihāras* for the priests, and endowed them with fields, houses, gardens, and orchards, along with the resident populations and cattle, the grants being engraved on plates of metal, so that afterwards they were handed down from king to king,"[1] and again "people around supply the societies of these monks with an abundant sufficiency of what they require."[2] Even food seems to have been provided for a section of the students. This section certainly included those students who were intending to take the tonsure (and become black-robed), and were called the *manavas.*[3] But there were besides the students (Brahmacārin), who, as I-Tsing says, were making themselves useful to the Saṅgha, and who were therefore to be fed by the monastery according to their merit.[4] They were possibly maintained from the donations made for this specific purpose, since the rules of the *vihāra* prohibited the students to be maintained from the permanent property of the Saṅgha.[5]

Thus with the regal and other donations which they constantly received, the original monasteries went on enlarging until in course of time they came to consist of a series of structures to which we may well apply the term university. An idea of these structures of which these monasteries consisted may be obtained from the account of Hiuen Tsiang's biographer, who has given a beautiful pen picture of a *vihāra* as it actually existed at Nālandā in the seventh century. He says, "the whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other walls, standing in the middle (of the Saṅgharāma). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like turrets, like painted hill-tops, are congregated together.[6] He also refers to the observatories, whose lofty towers seemed lost in the clouds,[7] and then goes on to speak of "the deep translucent ponds, (which) bear on their surface the blue lotus, intermingled with Kie-ni (Kanaka) flower, of deep red colour, and at intervals the Amara groves (which) spread over all, their shade."[8] "All the outside courts," the traveller continues, "in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon-projections and coloured caves, the pear-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflect the light in a thousand shades, these things add to the beauty of the scene. The saṅgharāmas of India are

1 Legge, *Fa Hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 43.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

3 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 106.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Beal, (Hwui Li), *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 111-2.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height."[1]

This description of the Nālandā monastery may be supplemented by the general description of monasteries which Hiuen Tsiang has given: "The Buddhist monasteries are of most remarkable architecture. They have a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle and three high walls in a tier. The rafters and roofbeams are carved with strange figures, and the doors, windows, and walls are painted in various colours. The houses of the laity are sumptuous inside, and economical outside. The inner rooms and the central hall vary in their dimensions and there is no rule for form or construction for the tiers of the terraces or the rows of high rooms. The doors open[2] to the east and the throne faces east."[3] The Cullavagga adds that the *vihāras* were full-fledged houses, where verandahs, covered terraces, overhanging caves, store rooms and service halls, gradually came to be built as the number of Bhikkus went on increasing.[4]

Another interesting feature of the *vihāras* was that the libraries were housed in buildings specially built for that purpose. We are told, for instance, that the library of the Nālandā monastery was situated in the Dharmagañja ('Piety Mart'), and consisted of three magnificent buildings named Ratnasagara, Ratnōdadhi and Ratnarañjaka.[5] In the Ratnodadhi, which had nine stories, manuscripts of sacred books like the *Prajnaparamitasūtra*,[6] Tantric, and other works were preserved.[7] The existence of a similar library at Valabhī may be inferred from the grants of the Maitrakas which record donations made for the collection of books.[8]

The monastery had separate dining halls. They were dabbed with cowdung and strewn with fresh leaves.[9] At dinner the monks sat on rattan cane chairs seven inches high which were placed at a distance of one cubit from each other, while junior members took their meals, seating on blocks of wood.[10] This practice was peculiar to the Buddhists, and differed from the usual Hindu custom of squatting at the time of meals.

1 Beal, (Hwui Li), *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, pp. 111-12.

2 The reference to the door opening to the east may probably show that the belief prevailed, as it still persists among some people, that the institution would go on prospering for ever.

3 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 147; Beal, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

4 *The Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 5, 6.

5 Hirananda Śāstri, *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, (*Nālandā and its Epigraphical Materials*), No. 66, p. 7 ff.

6 This is a defence of the Mahāyānic philosophy by Nāgārjuna, whose main object appears to be the refutation of all the heretic systems, be they Buddhist or Brāhmanic.

7 Hirananda Śāstri, *op. et loc. cit.;* Vidyābhūṣaṇa, "History of the Mediæval School," *I. A.*, VII, p. 67.

8 Bühler, " Additional Valabhī Grants," *I. A.*, VII, p. 67 ff.

9 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

10 *Ibid.*

About the residential quarters of the monks, details are unhappily lacking in the accounts of the Chinese travellers. I-Tsing dismisses this matter with the casual remark that "the assembly assigned to venerable priests, if very learned, and also to those who thoroughly studied one of the three collections (of the scriptures) some of the best rooms (of the monastery) and servants."[1] The *Cullavagga*, however, supplies this deficiency, when it says that the vihāras were the full-fledged houses in which the living rooms of the priests were furnished with luxurious furniture, cushions, chairs, armchairs, sofas, bedsteads, and others. All these were provided out of the donations of the benefactors.[2] Further we are told that the walls of these monasteries were coloured red and white-washed while the floor was coloured black.[3] Thus the vihāras, in conformity with the spirit of Buddhism to which the puritan simplicity of the ancient *ṛṣis* is alien, were more commodious and comfortable with rich decorations than the dwellings of the Hindu sages of the period.[4]

The constitution of the Buddhist Saṅgha was apparently inspired by the republican government[5] of the tribes of north-east India from whom the early Buddhist Bhikkus had been recruited.[6] Accordingly it was the Saṅgha as a corporate unit that was vested with legal personality, and all work was performed in its name.[7] The monks met in an assembly to deliberate on questions of importance[8] to the monastery under the presidentship[9] of a virtuous monk,[10] and the decision of this body was deemed supreme in all matters.[11] The general will was ascertained by a majority of votes,[12] the minimum number of the members as fixed in the Vinaya texts being present,[13] though voting by proxy (khaṇḍa) was not disallowed.[14] All these conditions were necessary for making an act of the Saṅgha valid, and once its validity was accepted, the

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1 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

2 *Cullavagga*, VI, 3, 5, 6.

3 *Ibid.*, VI, 3, 1.

4 We are also told by I-Tsing that whilst going out, the senior monks were carried in sedan-chairs, while the juniors went on horseback; cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

5 Dutt, *Early Buddhist Monarchism*, p. 137.

6 Cf. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 2 (1903).

7 Rhys Davids, *Psalms of Brethren*, pp. 36, 168.

8 The questions taken up by an assembly were mostly relating to the Dharma, Vinaya, teachings, practices, and ordainments of the Tathāgata, besides those of the nature of ecclesiastical offences (cf. *Cullavagga*, VII, 5, 2). Other questions such as the character of an individual, or connected with constitutional matters of the Saṅgha, were also taken up by such assemblies. (Cf. Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155).

9 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*, p. 152.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 159 ff.

13 *Mahāvagga*, IX, 4, 1. The minimum number of monks given in the above text constituted the quorums but not the committee.

14 *Ibid.*, IX, 3, 9; Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

act became *res judicata* and the question was taken to have been settled once and for all.[1] The equality among members, was further safeguarded by the rule that no principal office was to be instituted in the assembly, and that when any business came up, it was to be settled by the assembly itself.[2] This rule was so rigidly observed that, as I-Tsing remarks, " if any priest decided anything by himself alone, or treated the priest favourably or unfavourably, at his own pleasure, without regarding the will of the assembly, he was expelled (from the monastery) being called a *Kulapati* (i.e., he behaved like a householder)."[3] The gradation of the Bhikkhus, moreover, was not based on the social ranks held by their respective families, as was the case in the *gurukulas* of the ṛṣis,[4] but on their own spiritual progress and intellectual attainments.[5] Thus one who knew the five Nikayas was called Pamcanekayika,[6] and he who had mastered the Piṭakas was called the Peṭāki ;[7] similarly one who could repeat the texts was styled Bhānaka[8] and one who knew the Sūtras containing instructive discourses was called Sūtamtika.[9] Finally, a master of Abhiddhamma was styled Abhiddhammika[10] and he who emerged triumphant from a public debate won the designation of Vādi.[11]

Finally, the equality of membership was brought home to the Bhikkhus by the idea of community of property emphasized in the sacred texts : " So long as the Brethren shall divide without partiality, any share in common with the upright and the holy, all such thing as they receive in accordance with the just provisions of the Order, down even to the mere contents of a begging-bowl, so long may the Brethren be expected, not to decline but to prosper."[12] Naturally enough, everything in the Saṅgha including whatever was handed over to individual Bhikkhus was considered as communal property. " Whenever anything even a stalk of vegetable," writes I-Tsing, " was given

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Dutt, p. 152.

2 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

4 *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*, I, Sūtra 29.

5 *Mahāvagga*, I, 53, 4.

6 Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 123.

7 The masters of Sutta-piṭaka and Vinaya Piṭaka were called the Sūttantika and Vinayika respectively, cf. Barua and Sinha, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

8 Repeater of Jātaka was styled as Jātaka-bhānaka (cf. *Ibid.*, p. 10), that of the *Digha-Nikāya* was called the Digha-bhānaka; and the Majjhima-bhānaka, Samyutta-bhānaka and Anguttara-bhānaka were the repeaters of texts denoting their respective titles (cf. *Ibid.*). The essential duty of a Bhānaka consisted in recitation or rehearsal of the sacred texts with a view to preserving and handling them down by oral tradition.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 9.

10 *Ibid.*

11 *Ibid.*

12 *The Digha Nikāya-Mahāpariṇibbāna-Sūttanta*, i, ii; cf. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The translation given above is an adaptation of and an improvement on that of T. W. and C. A. Rhys Davids, *The Sacred Books of the Buddhists, the Dialogues of the Buddha*, II, p. 85.

(to the priests) by other persons, they made use of it through the assent of the assembly."[1]

On joining a monastery the aspirant was shaved, bathed and was given a *paṭa* (simple garment). Thereafter he received the Upasampada ordination,[2] which opened to him the portals of the Saṅgha of which he became a regular member. As such he could take part in all its proceedings except the training of the novices. The stage he now entered upon is aptly described as 'Nissāya' from the fact that he had to be a dependent on an *āchārya* (a senior monk) appointed by the Saṅgha and live under his spiritual tutelage.[3] This period extended over a term of ten years in the case of an average Bhikkhu, which in that of an exceptionally learned monk was of only five years' duration, while an incapable Bhikkhu had to keep it even all his life.[4] The result of this was that though in theory a Bhikkhu even at the Nissāya stage was deemed to be on a footing of equality in the monastery, in actual practice this equality dwindled to the casting of votes merely at the meeting of the assembly. And even this privilege was reduced to a formality, thanks to the pressure brought to bear upon the younger members by the polling officer[5] known as Salakagahapaka.[6] On completing this period of probation[7] or ten summer retreats as it was called, the Bhikkhu was given the position of a Sthavira (elder) monk, which meant a 'settled person' of the monastery. It was only this type of teachers who could become Upādhyāyas and teach at the Vihāras.[8]

It was from among the Sthaviras that appointments were made to the administration officers in the monastery by a *Nātti* or a resolution taken in the assembly.[9] The qualifications required were an upright character made up of qualities such as prudence, fortitude, charity and justice.[10] The superior

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[1] The ceremony to be performed at the admittance of a monk into the Buddhist Saṅgha was called Upasampada. It might be sought by one who had previously been a Paribrājaka belonging to a different sect, or one who wanted straightway to pass into the Buddhist Saṅgha from household life. (Cf. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 177). In the early days of Buddhism, a person desirous of monkhood had to request the Buddha for accepting him as a member of the Saṅgha and the Buddha accepted him with the simple utterance of 'Ehi-Bhikkhu', etc. Later on with the spread of the creed the right was transferred to the other disciples also and Upasampada became the regular practice of the entire Saṅgha.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, I, 25, 5.

[3] *Ibid.*, I, 32, 1; Takakusu, *op. cit.*, Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[4] *Mahāvagga*, I, 53, 4.

[5] Dutt, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161.

[6] "The voting was done by means of the distribution of marked pieces of wood called Salaka, which were subsequently counted and the majority ascertained thereby. The polling officer was therefore called Salakagahapaka." *Ibid.*

[7] I-Tsing speaks of yet another stage that of Cha-ga-na (i.e., Dahara, meaning a small teacher). Cf. Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 104, 119.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

[10] *Cullavagga*, VIII, 6, 1, IX. (*Vinaya Texts*, III, 6, p. 25.)

of the vihāra was, as a rule, a venerable old monk selected for his exceptional learning besides the qualities deemed essential for holding any administrative post in the monastery.[1] Next to him came the *vihārasvāmi* also styled *vihārapāla* and *karmadāna*, an officer to whom after the superior the "utmost deference" was paid.[2] He regulated the religious life of the community and the internal management of the *Vihāra.*[3] Next to the *karmadāna* was probably the Weina (Vena, i.e., the Sun) an habitual early riser, who acted as a sub-director of the *vihāra.*[4] He assisted the *Karmadāna* in looking after the general management of the *vihāra*. Next came the treasurer, who kept an account of the property of the monastery, both in cash and kind,[5] while the actual office work was done by the *karṇika*,[6] who as the name implies, did most of the clerical work. Other officers of the Buddhist vihāras that we know of were the polling officers, the gate-keepers, and the president of the Uposatha assembly. Although these officers were appointed temporarily, their status was not less esteemed. Great power was vested in the polling officer. He could refuse to accept a majority decision, if he felt that the same was not in consonance with the precepts of the Dhamma, and compel the assembly to go to the poll again, and yet again, till the right decision was reached.[7] As we have already pointed out, the gate-keeper was an examiner charged with the duty of admitting only such of the candidates as had reached the standard expected of them by the University.[8]

The internal management of the monastery was regulated in this way. The lodging of the monks was entrusted to two officials called *Vinayādhara* and *Dharmādhara*, while their seats in the assembly were assigned according to rank by the *āsanapannapaka.*[9] The *Bhandāgarika* was in charge of stores[10]; and the *Bhatudesaka* looked after the distribution of food.[11] The officer in charge of the buildings and establishments of the vihāras was called *nāvakamma.*[12] He was required to possess a thorough knowledge of engineering

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[1] Beal, (Hwui Li) *Life of Hiuen Tsing*, p xxxvii (Introduction) In the face of the direct reference of Hwui Li to a superior while describing the working of the Nālandā vihāra, the statement of Dutta that " the idea of a paramount authority of a person—a recognised head, a spiritual dictator, an abbot or a Gaṇadhara—was foreign to the republican constitution of an early Buddhist Saṅgha " (Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 145), seems but a conjecture not borne out by facts.

[2] Beal, *op. et loc. cit.*

[3] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Beal, (Hwui Li), *op. cit.*, XXXVII.

[6] Fleet *op. cit.*, p. 242; Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

[7] Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

[8] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 171; Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[9] *Cullavagga*, XII, 2, 7; Bhagavat, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

[10] *Cullavagga*, VI, 21, 2.

[11] *Barhut Inscriptions*, pp. 17, 123.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 13 (Nos. 27), 123; *Cullavagga*, VI, 17, 2.

for the purpose of building and repairing the structures of the monasteries.[1] And lastly, the *ārāmikapāsaka* looked after the *ārāmikas* or the parks.[2]

It was only natural that a highly organised community, such as the Buddhist vihāra, should soon have acquired an autonomous status. I-Tsing reports about the vihāras of his own days that the priests there "submitted to their own laws, without ever giving any trouble to the public court"[3]; and further that "once a monk had his name entered in the roll of the monastery, he ceased to have any "concern with the register of the state."[4]

The student-life in these vihāras was simple and systematic, we may almost say sublime. The students were subject to the same rules and regulations as were the priests, their preceptors, so long as they lived within the four walls of the vihāras—rules which were calculated to induce in them regularity and simple habits. "These laws," says Fa Hian, "regulating their demeanour in sitting, rising and entering when the others are assembled, are those which have been practised by all the saints since the Buddha was in the world."[5] They rose at sunrise,[6] and having finished their toilet and bath they took a walk round the temple and worshipped.[7] This was followed by breakfast which consisted of rice-water.[8] They then prepared their lessons for the day.[9]

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1 Bhagavat, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

2 *Ibid.* This officer was helped by a *Parisandavārika* who looked after the groves of a monastery. Kern, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 83; Bhagavat, *op. cit.*, p. 153. There was also a *civarapatiggahapaka* (*Cullavagga*, VI, 21, 2) who was in charge of the wardrobe. He was an officer who received robes from layman on behalf of the Saṅgha for the monks residing in the *vihāra*. This officer was helped by a *Satiyagahapaka*, i.e., a distributor of undergarments and a *Kathinavittihārika*, i.e., one who distributed a Kathina (cf. Bhāgavat, *op. cit.*, p. 152). This work of examining water for the monks residing in the vihāra was done by a *Saddhi-vihārika* whose duty was to see that the water to be used at the vihāra was properly filtered (*Mahāvagga* I, 25, 15; Takakusa, *op. cit.*, p. 62). He had also to wait after the Upādhyāya, and look to their requirements. This officer possibly looked after the judicial department of the monastery and took care to sentence a Upādhyāya to *Parivasa* discipline (cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 25, 21). The *Kappiyakaraks* received gifts of money on behalf of the monastery and converted it into commodities required. He also ascertained what provision was allowable and what was not (Dutt, p. 187). The officers who helped the *Bhātudesaka* were a *civabhajaka*, i.e., distributor of congey, (Dutt, p. 187), *Yagubhājaka* (distributor of rice-pulp (shid)), a *Khajja-bhājaka* (i.e., distributor of dry sweets), and *Falabhājaka*, (i.e., distributor of fruits). Then again there was an officer called *Paṭṭagahaka* who was in charge of the store of bowls and their distribution among the monks (*Cullavagga*, VI, 21, 3), the *Rupiyacchadaka* who disposed of bullion (Vinaya text I, p. 24); and lastly there was another called the *appamattaka vissājjaka* who saw to the getting of small articles and distributing them like needles, pairs of scissors, sandals, etc. (*Cullavagga*, VI, 21, 3).

3 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 65.

5 Legge, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

6 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-7.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 116.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 117.

9 The students also went to their preceptor at the last watch of the night when they learnt everything about the passage which they studied in the course of the day. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

After which, presumably, their schools began. At midday they had a full meal[1] at which cakes,[2] rice, butter, curds, milk, fruits[3] and at times meat[4] were served. They were required to observe complete silence during the meal[5] and were not to get up before it was finished.[6] It is interesting to note that as at the present day, there prevailed the custom of chewing nut-megs mixed with cloves and bros-camphor after each meal,[7] a practice intended to counteract bad odour in the mouth and aid digestion.

Uniformity prevailed in the matter of dress, and no distinction existed between the poor and the rich in this regard. They wore three robes as prescribed by the Vinaya texts.[8] They wore a double waist-cloth (uttara-saṅga), a single upper robe (Saṅghati) and a single under-garment (antarvāsaka).[9] The translator of the Mahāvagga describes the mode of wearing these robes as follows: " The waist-cloth (Saṅghati) was wrapped round the waist and back, and secured with a girdle. The under-garment (antaravāsaka) was wrapped round the loins and reached below the knee, being fastened round by an end of the cloth being tucked in these; and sometimes also by a girdle. The upper robe (uttarasamga) was wrapped round the legs from the loins to the ankles, and the end was then drawn, at the back, from the right hip, over the left shoulder, and either allowed to fall down in front or (as is still the custom in Burma, and in the Burmese sect in Ceylon) drawn back again over the right shoulder, allowed to fall down on the back."[10] These robes which were of yellow colour are characterised by I-Tsing as religious garments,[11] but as students were required, to use them, they may as aptly be called academical. In winter the *alumni* were more sumptuously clad,[12] but during summer they had to conform to the manner of dress prescribed in the Vinaya text.[13]

The student community of the times, however, had few games and amusements to relieve the tedium of the daily round of duties. Many of the games which in our eyes are innocent, were forbidden to them no less than those

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1 Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 42; Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

3 *Cullavagga*, V, 5; Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-44.

4 *Ibid.*, pp. 43 and 58; Beal, (Hwui Li), *op. cit.*, p. 113. The bhikkhus were allowed to eat three kinds of meat without incurring any guilt.

5 *Mahāvagga*, I, 25, 5.

6 *Cullavagga*, VI, 10, 1.

7 Takakusu, *op. et. loc. cit.*

8 *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 12, 2; Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 119; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 76; Takakusu *op. cit.*, p. 72 ff.

9 *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 14, 2.

10 Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-74; *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 13, 4, p. 212, note 2.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 *Ibid.*

which were clearly unmoral, if not immoral, such as gambling. Denouncing the monks of a former age who indulged in these amusements, the Cullavagga says: "They used to amuse themselves at games with eight pieces and ten pieces, and with tossing up, hopping over diagrams formed on the ground, and removing substances from a heap without shaking the remainder; and with games at dice, and trap-ball; and with sketching rude figures, tossing balls, blowing trumpets, having matches at ploughing with mimic ploughs, tumbling, forming mimic wind-mills, guessing at measures, having chariot races, and archery matches, shooting marbles with the fingers, guessing other people's thoughts, and mimicking other people's acts;—and they used to practise elephant riding, and horse riding,[1] and carriage driving, and archery, and swordsmanship;—and they used to run to and fro in front of elephants, and in front of horses, and in front of carriages;—and they used to exhibit signs of anger, and to wring their hands, and to wrestle, and to box with their fists;—and spreading their robes out as a stage they used to invite dancing girls, saying, "Here you may dance, sister!" and greet her with applause.[2] This left the vihāras a very narrow choice indeed, which was limited to pastimes like swimming,[3] and taking walks.[4] The ban on indoor games, however, could not be rigorously enforced and these may have been indulged in by the student community secretly and covertly. For curiously enough among the finds at the Nālandā excavations are precisedly gaming dice, from which Mr. Page has remarked that "The Buddhist brethren here were not altogether above the amusements of less austere humanity."[5]

All the same, the rules of discipline were strictly observed at these Buddhist seats of learning. As for the priests we have the testimony of Hiuen Tsiang that the "rules of Nālandā were severe and the conduct of the priests pure and blameless"[6] (a verdict which may with equal propriety be applied to Valabhī), and the same authority has it that "during 700 years since the foundation of the establishment, there has been no single case of guilty rebellion against the rules."[7] This is all the more remarkable inasmuch as corporal punishment was unknown at these institutions, and the highest punishment that was inflicted was expulsion therefrom, a punishment meted out only for serious acts of immorality[8] which were indeed rare occurrences.

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[1] In the seventh century I-Tsing observed that the junior members rode on horse-back, while the senior went in sedan-chairs, Takakusu, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] *Cullavagga*, 13, 2.

[3] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-109.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

[5] *Archæological Survey of India*, *Annual Report*, 1923-1924, p. 74.

[6] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 170.

[7] Beal, (Hwui Li), *op. cit.*, pp. 112-113.

[8] Patimokha, *Saṁgha diseasa Dhamma;* Takakusu, *op. et loc. cit;* Watters, *op. cit.*, I, 344; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 214.

Finally, the students closed their scholastic career with a public examination at which they were required to defend some thesis. Difficulties were proposed against it and their passing of the examination depended on solving them to the satisfaction of the learned audience. "And then," says I-Tsing, "their fame makes the five mountains (of India) vibrate, and their renown flows, as it were over the four borders. They receive grants of land, and are advanced to a high rank; their famous names are, as a reward, written in white on their lofty gates. After this they can follow whatever occupation they like."[1]

(B) HINDU SYSTEM

The capital of a Hindu dynasty, it was but natural that Valabhī should have acquired renown as a seat of Hindu learning as well. Though the material at our disposal is too scanty to allow us to infer the existence of a Hindu university there, it is incredible that the capital should be without a Hindu institution of higher learning. The tradition of Valabhī as a centre of Hindu studies is probably preserved in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, a work of the eleventh century, which narrates a story of Viṣṇudatta, a Brāhmaṇa youth from Antarvedi, who went up to Valabhī for prosecuting higher studies even though centres like Benaras and Taxilā were nearer to his home on the banks of the Ganges.[2] So also a fourteenth century work relates how Mayuraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, finding that the local Brāhmaṇas had fallen from their station, went all the way to Valabhī to bring some who could presumably assist him at a sacrifice.[3] Though this story has been discredited,[4] epigraphical evidence is not lacking which goes to prove that Valabhī was a nursery of Brāhmaṇas, which supplied learned priests to different parts of India.[5] It is, however, strange that among the hundred or more Maitraka inscriptions that have so far been found, there is not even one which records a grant for purposes of education, a circumstance which rules out the possibility, for the present at least, of a Hindu university having existed at Valabhī. This, however, does not mean that the Hindus had no institution where they could receive instruction according to their own traditional methods. Or else, we shall not be able to explain the great literary activity that went on at the court as well as in the country throughout the Maitraka period. It is well known that Bhaṭṭibhatta, the author of the famous *Bhaṭṭikāvya* or the *Rāvaṇavadha*,

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[1] Takakusu, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[2] Somadeva, *Kathāsaritsāgara*, taraṅga 32,

स विष्णुदत्तो वयसापूर्ण षो ऽ शवत्सर: ।
गन्तुं प्रववृंत्त विद्याप्राप्तये वलभींपुरीम् ॥४३॥

[3] This is known from the Puttige version of the Gramapadhati, cf. B. A. Saletore, *Ancient Karṇāṭaka*, I, pp. 324-325, note 1; cf. Moraes, "Notes on the Pre-Kadamba History of Goa," *Transactions of the Indian History Congress, Fifth Session*, (Hyderabad), p. 167 (1941).

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Cf. Fleet, "Baroda Grant of Karka I (Rāstrakuta)," *I. A.*, XII, p. 160.

wrote under the patronage of the Maitraka king Dharasena.[1] Then again the Maitraka copper-plates refer to various Brāhmaṇas as students of the different Vedic studies, for instance, a Brāhmaṇa named Rudragopa is described as a student of Atharva-Veda,[2] while another is spoken of as a student of the Vajesaneya Śākhā[3] and the Kauthumi Śākhā of the Sāma Veda.[4] Finally, the same records in describing the literary accomplishments of the Maitraka rulers, show that the Hindu learning was far from being neglected, and was actually at a premium in their realm. An idea of the state of this learning may perhaps be gauged from some of the titles assumed by these rulers. For example, the titles 'Samyag-upalaksitanka-śāstra' and 'Sakala-smṛti-pramitamārgga-paripālana-prajā-hṛdaya ranjanād-anvartha-rāja-śabdah' of king Dharasena II and his predecessor Guhasena show that great importance was attached to the Dharmaśāstra literature.[5] Similarly, the description of

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[1] This is known from the colophon of the poem:—

"काव्यमिद विहितं मया वलभ्याः श्री धरसेननरेन्द्रपालितायाम् ।
कीर्तिरतो भवतान्नृपस्य तस्य प्रेमकर क्षितिणो यतः प्रजानाम् ॥३५॥

The *Bhattikāvya*, p. 311. This poem is a grammatical work composed with the object of illustrating Pāṇini's Sūtras, and was long regarded as an authority on questions of grammar. It is, as Mallinātha describes it, an *Udāharaṇa Kāvya* or illustration-poem of the Sūtras of Pāṇini (cf. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 116). In the colophon the poet boasts that "This poem can be understood only with a commentary, it suffices that it is a happy enterprise for the clever, an account of my love of learning the stupid come to grief in it," (cf. *The Bhattikāvya* verse, 34, p. 310). The list of Alaṅkaras given by Bhatti is to a certain degree original when compared with those of Daṇḍin and Bhamāha. Its source is still unknown (cf. Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 118). It is said of this poem that "this work serves as a lamp to those who are well-versed in the figurative sense of the words (grammar), but like a mirror in the hands of the blind to those who are devoid of the knowledge of grammar." *The Bhattikāvya*, verse 33, p. 310.

"दीपतुल्यः प्रबन्धोऽयं शब्दलक्षणचक्षुषाम् ।
हस्तामर्षश्वान्धानांभवेद् व्याकरणादृते ॥

The verses 14 to 22 of this mahā-kāvya are devoted to Lit (Perfect), Lun (Aorist), Lrt (Simple figure), Lan (imperfect), Lat (present), Lin (potential), Lot (imperative), Lrn (conditional), and Lut (perihrestic figure) respectively. This is merely a single literary remnant which is however, suggestive of a vast literary activity in those days. Further, we know that a good number of commentaries have been written on this Bhattikāvya by different writers, of which the *Jayamangala* by Jayamangal is the oldest and the most popular of all. The other known commentaries are the *Kalpadipika* by Pundariksa; *the Vaijayanti* by Kandarpachakravarti; *the Bhattichandrika* by Vidhyāvinod; *the Magadhabodha* by Ramanand; *the Mugahabodhini* by Bharatmattika; *the Subodhini* by Kumudananda; *the Bhattabodhini* by Nārāyaṇa-Vidhyāvinod, *the Subodhini* by Rairchandraśastri, *the Kalapadipika* by Vidhyāsāgara; *the Bhasavṛti* by Purushotam and *the Sarvapathin* by Mallinatha. All these show the importance of the work.

[2] Cf. Diskalkar, "Bhadva Copper-plates of Dharasena II," *A. B. O. I.*, IV, p. 33; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 69.

[3] Diskalkar, "Palitana Plates of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, XI, p. 112; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 26.

[4] Diskalkar, "Valabhī Grants," *J. B. B. R. A. S.* (N. S.), I, p. 28; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 55; Bühler, "Additional Valabhī Grants," *I. A.*, VII, p. 68.

[5] Gadre, "The Amreli Plates." *Important Inscription from the Baroda State*, p. 6 ff.

King Dhruvasena I as well-versed in philosophy, dhanurvidyā (i.e., science of archery),[1] that of Droṇasiṁha as well-versed in the Smṛtis of Manu and others,[2] of Dhruvasena II as having mastered Paṇini's grammar,[3] of Śīlāditya I as a poet,[4] and of Śīlāditya VII as 'Jñāna-trayi,' i.e., one who possesses the knowledge of the three Vedas,[5] all go to show that these were common subjects of study during the period. Finally, the description of Śīlāditya I as:" Sarvva-vidyā-para parama-bhagadhigama-vimala-matih,"[6] reveals the religious emphasis which was put on the educational system, for while the 'apara' vidyā consisted in the study of the four Vedas and the six Vedāṅgas, the 'para' vidyā meant the search for the imperishable[7] or vidyā as it was called, and in terms of which all other knowledge was to be estimated.[8]

The Hindu educational system must have conformed, as in other parts of India, to the time honoured methods. Primary education was probably in the hands of the village school-masters, who taught in the *Pathaśālās.* The course of instruction given in these primary schools consisted of reading, writing and arithmetic.[9] Along with these subjects the students were also taught the nīti-śāstras (Moral precepts) with fables—the most important of which was probably the *Pañcha-tantra.*[10] Before joining these village schools the "Vidyārambha Saṁskāra" or as described by some authorities the "Akṣara svikaraṇam" Saṁskāra was performed.[11] This took place probably in the fifth year of a boy, because the period from birth to the fifth year was regarded as the time for play.[12] As at present, under the system of education in those days also the teachers taught the letters of the alphabet in association with a word beginning with the letter.[13]

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1 Bühler, "Grant of Guhasena of Valabhī," *I. A.*, IV, p. 174 ff.
2 *Ibid.*, "manuadi pranita-vidhi-vidhana-dharma" . . . etc.
3 Fleet, "Alina Copper-plate Inscription of Śīlāditya VII," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 171 ff.
4 Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 71; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 14; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, X, p. 66.
5 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*
6 *Ibid.* (lines 11-12).
7 *The Maṇḍuka-Upaniṣad*, I, i, 1-5.
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 10-11.
10 Cf. Majumdar, *A History of Education in Ancient India*, p. 67.
11 Cf. Altekar, *Ancient Indian Education*, p. 1.
12 *The Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Pt. I, XII, 18.

"कालक्रीडनकानां ते तदन्ते ऽध्यायनस्य य ।
ततः समस्तभागानां तदन्ये चेष्यते तपः ।

In a book on astrology (*Muhurta-Mārtaṇḍa*) auspicious days and hours are mentioned for the commencement of the teaching of the alphabet to children. (*a*) According to this book the age of a child for commencing education should be three years, (*b*) while according to *Charaka* it should be five, (*c*) the *Viṣṇu Puraṇa* considers first five years of the life of a child as time for play, (*d*) and finally, according to the *Arthaśāstra*, the same should commence after the Upanayana Samskāra.

13 *Lalita Vistāra*, p. 184; cf. Majumdar, *op. et loc. cit.*

After finishing the course of study in these schools, students were sent to the *Gurukulas*, where the foundations were laid of their future careers.[1] The *Upanayana Saṁskāra* (i.e., taking near)[2] was performed before the commencement of this stage of the student-life, a ceremony which was considered as a momentous event in a boy's life, marking as it were the beginning of his spiritual life.[3] The age for this ceremony in the case of the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣtriya and Vaiśya lads respectively was the eighth, eleventh and the twelfth year.[4]

It was from this time that a period of strenuous study and rigorous exertions for mastering the sacred texts began.[5] Yājnavalkya describes the life of a student after the Upanayana Saṁskāra as very regular and methodical. The student rose before sun-rise, bathed daily after he got up, made his toilet, and then having sprinkled himself with water while saying *āpohista-mantra*—practised Prāṇāyāma (suppression of vital airs), and suryyōpasthanam (worship the Sun), and then recited the Gāyatri.[6] The muttering of the Gāyatri was to be performed both at dawn and twilight with fixed attention.[7] He studied (when called upon to do so) and offered to his preceptor whatever he had gathered by begging.[8] For developing active habits the teacher from the very beginning taught him cleanliness, rules of etiquette, the duty of attendance on the sacrificial fire and devotions like the Sandhyā. The study of the vedas was considered most important in ancient India, and particular care was taken for pronouncing correctly every syllable and accent.[9] Thus the recital was not mechanical and great attention was given to the subject. The preceptors repeated their instructions until they were satisfied that the students had fully grasped the subjects taught. Hiuen Tsiang, who actually observed the Brāhmaṇa

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1 Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

2 Das, *The Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, p. 18.

3 The Upanayana ceremony of a student of the Āyurveda was to be performed in a special way before Agni by his preceptor. Cf. Mookerjee, *J. U. P. H. S.*, XV, p. 24.

4 *Manu Smṛti*, II, 36.

5 Upadhyaya, "Education and Learning as depicted by Kalidasa," *J. B. H. U.*, IV, p. 53.

6 *Yājnavalkya*, I, 10-21, p. 3.

7 *Manu*, II, 69.

8 *Yājnavalkya*, I, 10-21, *Manu*, II, 65.

9 The vēdic mantras were not permitted to Sūdras, for the Aryan theologians believed that if there was the slightest mistake in the accent or the pronunciation of the vedic mantra, it would bring about ruin and disaster:

"मंत्रोहीन: स्वरतोवर्णतोवामिथ्या प्रयुतणे न तमर्थमाह ।
वागवज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

Pāṇini Śikṣā, V. 52.

And possibly it was because of this that even after the invention of the art of writing, it was not utilised for preserving and transmitting the Vedic literature. Cf. *Panimya Sikse*, 32; cf. Altekar, "Method of Teaching Students in Ancient India," *Gopala Krsnamāchārya Book of Commemoration*, p. 425.

"गीती शीघ्री शिरः कंपी तथा लिखितपाठकः ।
अनर्थज्ञोऽल्प कंठश्चपढेन पाठकाधमाः ।

teachers at work, thus describes their way of educating their pupils: "These teachers explain the general meaning (to their disciples) and teach them the minutiæ; they rouse them to activity and skilfully win them to progress; they instruct the inert and sharpen the dull. When disciples, intelligent and acute, are addicted to idle shirking, the teachers, doggedly persevere repeating instructions until their training is finished. When the disciples are thirty years old, their minds being settled and their education finished, they go into office; and the first thing they do then is to reward the kindness of their teachers."[1]

More details about the life of students in ancient India are known from various Hindu sources. It is said that they had to wear simple dress and avoid eating to excess.[2] They avoided all sorts of luxurious food such as honey, meat, sweets, etc. They were further advised not to use scents, garlands, sweet or pungent drinks, and had to observe brahmacharya (celibacy).[3] Further, they were required to refrain from smearing the body with oil, painting the eyes with collyrium, dancing, singing, gambling, petty quarrels, calumniating people, telling lies, looking wistfully at women and doing harm to others.[4] The Hindu Dharmaśāstras also corroborate the same when they maintain that religion and morality are not "matters of intellect only—that they cannot be so much learnt as practised, and that the atmosphere or environment to which a child is accustomed in early years is the most powerful agent in shaping and forming his religious and moral life."[5] They embraced the feet of their teacher at the beginning and at the end of a lecture,[6] a fact which shows the veneration in which the guru was held in those days. The preceptors in turn were required to treat the students with great affection. They had to use sweet and mild words to them. Only in the case of a pupil, guilty of grave misdemeanour, was he beaten with a rope or a split bamboo on the back and never on a delicate part. A teacher who would strike a student otherwise was considered to have incurred the guilt of a thief.[7] Thus it is clear that the rules laid down by Kautilya and Manu come very near to the principles advocated by modern educationalists.

(C) THE JAINA SYSTEM

The history of education in the Maitraka kingdom would indeed be incomplete, if a description of the Jaina system of instruction were omitted. Valabhī is the traditional home of Jainism. It was here that the Śvetambara

1 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 160.
2 Manu, II, 44, 51.
3 *Ibid.*, 177.
4 *Ibid.*, 180.
5 Cf. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76.
6 *The Pratisakhya of Ṛg Veda*, XV; Majumdar, *loc., cit.*
7 *Manu*, II, 299-300.
8 Majumdar, *op. et loc. cit.*

canon was collected and published. Right from the beginning of the Maitraka rule, their capital city had become the scene of a great scriptural activity.[1] Naturally, it came to be a rendezvous of the Jaina savants. One of these was Dhaneśvarasūri, the author of the famous Śatruñjaya-Mahātmya, who describes himself in this work as a tutor of king Śīlāditya.[2] Here, too, we are told that Dhaneśvarasūri euchred the colours of the Buddhists who were puffed up with pride on account of their knowledge, and the ground he took for defeating them was 'Syād-vāda,' i.e., 'may be' or the science of logic.[3]

Other Jaina savants who flourished at Valabhī were Malla and his brothers.[4] These were Jitayasas[5] who wrote a Nyāsa or commentary on a grammatical work, known as *Viśrānta-Viśyādharavara*[6]; and Yakṣa, who composed a Saṁhita known as *Nimittaṣṭāngabodhini*. Malla himself wrote his famous treatise on the Jaina philosophy called the *Nayachackra*.[7] It is said that this Malla had a maternal uncle named *Jinānandasūri* who was a ṣvetāmbara Jaina monk. He was defeated in a public controversy at Bharukachchha by the Buddhist Buddhānanda, and in consequence had to leave the city. He settled at Valabhī where he taught his nephews. After finishing his studies Malla went to Bharukachchha and defeated his uncle's opponent Buddhānanda in a public debate, held before the royal assembly, and won the title of *Vādin* as a result of his triumph.[8]

These references to Jaina scholars would point to the existence of Jaina educational institutions in the kingdom, though actual epigraphical or literary evidence is so far not forthcoming. Education among the Jainas was dispensed

[1] The practice of transmitting learning from generation to generation orally was given up here, when it was realised that it was absolutely necessary to prepare *MSS.* of the Jaina canonical literature (cf. Chapter on "Religion"). This reduction into writing is technically known as 'puṣtakārōhaṇa' of the Jaina Āgaṁas; *Kalpasūtra*, p. 270; Munshi, *Gujarat and its Literature*, p. 31.

[2] *Shatruñjaya-Mahātmya*, p. 769.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Prabhāvakacharita* (Introduction).

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 16.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] This work is referred to by Hemachandra in his grammar the *Siddha-Hema*. Vāmana is said to be the author of *Viśrāntavidyādharavara:* cf. *Purāttatva*, IV, p. 91.

[7] A book named *Nayachakra*, by Devasenaśuri consisting of 87 gāthas has come down to us. It describes Mallavādin, as a great logician. We find it mentioned there that the author has taken his material from the *Ekānta Jaya Paṭaka* by Haribhadra. However, we do not know whether this *Nayachakra* is the same as that of Mallavādin.

[8] Two other stories are told of this Mallavādin in the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* and in the *Prabandhakōśa*. They also give an account of this controversy between the Buddhist and the Jaina scholars and the ultimate triumph of the Jaina. Cf. Chapter on "Religion." One more reference to the importance given to the Ṣvetambara scholars of Valabhī is gathered from the *Bhadrabahucharita* of Ratnanandi (Ch. IV, verse 133) where we are told that king Bhupāla of Karahāṭa invited the Ṣvetāmbara monks of Valabhī, probably for performing some religious practice. This was done by him at the request of his queen Nṛkuladevi, cf. Luders, "Kadamba Plates of Prabhutavarṣa," *E. I.*, IV, p. 338 ff.

by two different agencies, the art-schools and the monasteries. The former were the regularly organised institutions where education was imparted to all irrespective of caste, creed or sex[1] unlike the Brāhmaṇical schools. The instruction given in the art-schools was religious as well as secular and was calculated to fit the needs of the students in different walks of life, and to turn them into better citizens.[2] The schools were probably run with the help of state subsidies,[3] which were thus one of their chief financial resources. The students assisted their teachers with their household work[4] while they remained under them and paid an honorarium to them on completion of their studies.[5] According to the Rāyapaseṇīyasūtta these teachers fell into three categories: the kalāyaria or teachers of arts such as writing, sippayāriya or teachers of handicrafts such as pottery, and so forth, and the Dhammayāria or teachers of divinity.[6]

The art-schools were generally patronized at the primary and secondary stages, before the children entered the Brāhmaṇical or the monastic schools. Starting at the age of seven they continued here for about a further seven years.[7] The subjects taught during this period were of fundamental importance; and fell into four groups, viz., the three R's, fine arts, military training and academic and scientific studies. The study of the three R's was meant to equip the child with the rudiments of knowledge;[8] the fine arts comprised singing, painting, music, dancing, drawing and cognate subjects.[9] Military training was given together with the allied courses of hunting, riding and archery;[10] while the academic and scientific branches of study were so planned as to afford the students both intellectual pleasure and economic gain, including as they did the study of vernacular languages, composition, ballad-making, public-speaking, and a knowledge of the Vedas, the Vedaṅgas, astronomy, astrology, medicine, and mineralogy.[11] Thus the courses in these schools were well adapted to the physical, mental, and emotional needs of the scholars from their boyhood to early adolescence.

The method of teaching was based on sound educational psychology. Education was never forced upon an unwilling mind.[12] The classes were held

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1 Das Gupta, *Jaina System of Education*, pp. 2, 12, 13, 16, 53.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 4.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 15. It must, however, be observed that no grants in money or kind to the Jaina institutions, made by the Maitrakas, have come down to us.

4 Cf. Kapadia, " The Jaina System of Education," *J U.B.*, VIII, pp. 210-211.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *Rayapaseniyasūtta*, s. 77, para 33 of Paesiteahaniya in Vaidya, pp. 101-120.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

9 *Ibid.*

10 *Ibid.*, p. 68.

11 *Ibid.*

12 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

from sunrise to sunset with a recess for lunch only. Instructions were imparted to the students either in groups or individually, according to the nature of the subject.[1] For example, military training and other cognate arts were taught in groups as at present for economising time both of the teacher and the taught. No new subject was begun unless the one in hand had been thoroughly mastered.

Thus the students passed about seven years of their life in the art-schools where they lived a decent, happy and vigorous life.[2]

After finishing their studies in the art-schools the students joined the monasteries. These monasteries were the prototype of the Buddhist vihāras.[3] They were situated in the suburbs of cities, away from the din and bustle of the work-a-day world and probably formed independent units by themselves. The principle observed in founding these institutions was to select a site easy of access to the faithful and suitable to 'learned leisure.'[4]

Each monastery was managed by a hierarchy of officers,[5] chosen from among the monks according to the qualifications required for their offices.[6] These officers apparently constituted the executive council which looked after the general administration of the institution. At the head of this body was the Siddha who controlled the policy of the institution with the assistance of the Arhat. Next in rank came the Āchāryas, learned monks who together with the Upādhyayas were entrusted with the actual teaching work. Lastly, came the Sādhus. And all five constituted what was known as the Pañcha-Parameṣṭhi of a Jaina monastery.[7] Other officers were the Pravajyādāyakas and the Niryāpakas who discharged respectively the functions of initiating novices into the ascetic fold and rehabilitating erring members of the order. The Śramaṇas were the common monks who also must have taught in the monastery.[8]

The Āchāryas were the most important among these teachers. Their qualifications may be deduced from the rule followed in Jaina monasteries that the Sūtras should be taught by an Upādhyaya (sub-preceptor), whereas their meaning should be propounded by an Āchārya (preceptor).[9] Hence, we

1 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 2.

4 Cf. Tagore, *Viśva Bhārati Quarterly*, April, 1924, p. 64; Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 22.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 25 ff.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26. The Jaina sources mention two types of preceptors, viz., the *dikṣā-gūru* and the *vidyā-guru*. This was probably because the one and the same preceptor could not be expected to be conversant with all sciences. Nay, instances are not lacking of persons who had more than one vidyā-guru, cf. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 203. But as a general rule a vidyā guru was also a dikṣā-guru.

9 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

may agree with Mr. Kapadia, when he observes that it was considered necessary that an Āchārya should know various languages in order that his pupils might be taught through the medium of their own mother tongue.[1] Accordingly, the preceptor was expected to broaden his outlook by travel, thus coming into contact with diverse peoples and customs.[2] Speaking of these itinerant teachers, Hiuen Tsiang observes that they "count not, 1,000 li a long journey," and that "forgetting fatigue they expatiate in the arts and sciences."[3] He alone was the perfect teacher who could answer all the questions and difficulties of his students. Others were unfit to teach. Nor was a student to accept blindly whatever he was taught, but had to weigh the worth of every word.[4]

The courses of studies in these monasteries were so planned as to make the student frugal and independent. As respects the monks, a fivefold aim was always kept in view. Their training was calculated to impart to them the right knowledge, add stability to their faith, strengthen their character, eradicate false pre-possessions and prejudices and assist them in discerning objects and their proper perspective.[5] All this was designed to turn the students' mind increasingly towards religion.

The curricula were wide in scope.[6] For they included instructions in religion, literature, arts, physical culture and other like subjects, and thus met the needs of all types of students in the different grades of life.[7] The religious instructions included the Hindu, the Buddhist and the Jaina courses of studies.[8] Out of these subjects the Brāhmaṇical works together with the arts-course were taken up in the first group; the second group included the whole range of Buddhist studies; while in the third and final group knowledge of the important works of the Jainas like Aṅgas was imparted to the students. All these subjects possibly made up the course for graduation, while the post-graduate course included a study of subjects like the Vedas, Vedaṅgas, history, philosophy, higher mathematics, grammar, prosody, astronomy, literature,

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1 Kapadia, *loc., cit.*

2 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 161; Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 25, 38.

3 Watters, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 *Nittiuti on Avassayasutta*, V .133; cf. Kapadia, *op. cit*, p. 206.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 220.

6 The Jainas look upon Lord Ṛṣabha as the first Tirthankara of the present Hunda avasarpini period. In cons kalpas or cycle, there are two eras mentioned, viz., the *avasarpini* and *utsarpini*. The *avasarpini* or the descending era is one in which "piety and truth go on decreasing until in the end chaos and confusion reign over the earth: and the *utsarpini* or ascending era is one in which there is ever-growing evolution of piety and truth." Cf. Jaini, *Outline of Jainism*, p. xxvi, as the originator of teaching (cf. Kapadia, *op. cit*, p. 199). We learn from Bhadrabāhusvāmin's *Pajjosanakappa* (also known as Kalpasūtra) that Lord Ṛṣabha taught 72 arts of males which included the art of writing and arithmetic also. Cf. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

7 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 6: Rayaśekharasuri, *Prabandhakośa*, I, p. 28.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 27.

lexicography, poetics, politics,[1] together with sacred texts of the Brāhmaṇas.[2] Special attention was paid to astrology and there were several scholars who attained great proficiency in this science. This is inferred from the fact that the Chinese traveller who visited India in the seventh century was so greatly impressed by the knowledge of astrology possessed by the Jainas, that he actually had his horoscope cast for him by a Nirgrantha named Vajra.[3] It is interesting to note that science was cultivated not as a means of livelihood but for its own sake, and because it was believed that it could be of use in case the Jaina church was threatened by some persecution.[4] The Jaina scholars also wrote theses on subjects like medicine and the grammar of Pāṇini.[5] Obviously this research work was also included in the programme of post-graduate studies.

The method of study pursued in the Jaina monasteries was both comprehensive and rational. In learning a given passage from the texts the student had to observe five different steps.[6] The first of these was rehearsal; next came repetition and then followed interrogation, concentration and discussion in successive order. After this his knowledge was pronounced perfect.[7] The teacher too in his work of explanation had to observe similar and corresponding steps, like Bhāṣā or ordinary explanation, Vibhāṣā or giving of synonyms and Vattiya or giving an explanation of the explanation.[8] These steps, we find, compared to the several stages in the blossoming of the lotus flower, the bud, the half-opened flower and the full-blown lotus in the Jaina work Viśeṣa.[9] The Jaina monks, like the Buddhist and the Hindu teachers, stressed the value of repetition in the task of imparting instruction to students,[10] and they were very particular and careful that the lessons they taught were thoroughly mastered by the pupils. Besides, a three hours' compulsory study of the Jaina scriptures was strictly enjoined upon these monks every day,[11] and a violation of this obligation was looked upon with grave concern.[12]

Jaina students wishing to be trained according to the Jaina ritual resided in the monasteries in the company of their teachers.[13] Life in these monasteries was simple. The earliest age at which students could join a monastery was

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1 *Rajaśekharasuri*, *Prabhandakośa*, I, p. 112.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 71.
Shaman Hwui Li, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162; Watters, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 44-45.
4 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 254.
5 Sharma, *Jainism in Karnataka Country*, p. 72.
6 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
7 *Ibid.*, Yogindra Āchārya, *Paramātmā Prakasa*, pp. 59, 341.
8 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 222.
9 *Ibid.*
10 Yogindra Āchārya, *Paramātmā Prakasa*, p. 59; Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
11 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 3; *The Unasagadasa*, p. 51.
12 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 118.
13 *Ibid.*, p. 211.

probably seven or eight years after taking the dikṣā.[1] Some students, however, joined even at a later stage after finishing their studies in the art-schools. On joining a monastery a student was expected to pay respect to his preceptor. He was to ask him his difficulties in a humble way, and quietly hear his answers and grasp their meaning. His duty then was to reflect on what he had been told and to make himself sure that what his guru taught him was correct. Finally, after he had convinced himself of it, he had to try to retain it. A Jaina student was supposed to practise the *anuṣṭhāna* rite as enjoined in the scriptures throughout the period of his student life.[2]

As in the art-schools, no fees were charged for the instruction imparted in the monasteries.[3] In cases of necessity even lay scholars were provided with free boarding.[4] Relations between the teacher and the taught were cordial,[5] and the students showed special regard for their preceptors,[6] senior monks and even for the guests of their monasteries. This was manifested in various ways, like standing up on their arrival, following them whenever they went out without expressing signs of fatigue and so forth.[7] All these actions they appropriately accompanied by salutations and adorations.[8]

Though in the study of scriptures the Jaina monks and nuns had for the most part common ground to cover, there was no room for co-education in the Jaina system. The Sādhavis (nuns) were taught by senior Sādhavis.[9] But as the Samayari says, a nun could approach a monk for the solution of her doubts, provided, of course, she was accompanied by another nun. On such occasions the monk himself was attended by another Sādhu.[10] It is interesting to note that like the Buddhists,[11] Jainas also had organised hermitages intended exclusively for women.[12] Here the Jaina nuns led a community life similar to that of the monks and their students in the vihāras. Further, in the Jaina system of education, women were debarred from studying some of the religious works, e.g., *Diṭṭhivāya*, the 12th *aṅga* and the *sātisāya ajjayanas* such as *Uṭṭhāṇasuya*, *Samuṭṭhāṇasuya*, *Mahāpariṇṇa*, *Aruṇovavāya*, and the like.[13] This is confirmed by a verse quoted in the *Ācāradinakara* by Vardhamāna Sūri[14] while in his

1 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 198.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 211.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 210-211; Das Gupta, *The Jaina System of Education*, pp. 32, 118.
4 *Ibid.*, pp. 32, 118.
5 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 208.
7 Cf. *Kundakudaca Pravacanasarva*, p. 32, v. 47, as quoted by Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.*, p. 8; Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
10 *Ibid.*
11 Several examples of the Buddhist vihāras for women are given in the Valabhī records.
12 Mayer, *Hindu Tales*, p. 44.
13 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 238.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 102-103.

Tattvaṇirṇayaprasāda,[1] Vijayānanda Sūri tells us that the scriptural works *Kāliya* and *Ukkāliya* from which Dittivāya was carefully excluded were composed in Prākṛt for the use of women and novices.[2] It follows from this that the general idea was that the meaning of these texts was too deep and difficult to be grasped by the feminine mind whose capabilities were rated inferior to those of the male. This idea finds a parallel in the theory current in the Smṛti period when women were considered unfit for the study of the Vedas.[3] Apart, however, from some exceptions, women were permitted to acquire complete knowledge of Philosophy and Theology, as may safely be inferred from the instances of Jaina-Sādhavis challenging in debate Buddhist monks and nuns,[4] found in the writings of the time.

It is an established fact that in ancient India education was imparted only in Sanskṛt and Prākṛt. The Jainas were the first to make use of vernacular languages as media for instruction.[5] Their pedagogues believed that one's mother tongue was the best instrument for imparting knowledge and that education through one's own language was bound to be thorough and productive of better results than through a language that is foreign to the student. This view had been propounded by Maladharin Hemachandra Sūri in his commentary on the Viśeṣa.[6] We also have the earlier evidence of Śilāṅka Sūri who had preceded him by about three hundred years.[7] Both express the same views as to the ideal medium for instruction. This successful attempt of the Jaina teachers to break new ground in their methods of teaching gave the much needed impetus to the vernacular languages which had continued so far in an embryonic stage of development, and now came to have literatures of their own. In southern India in particular, from the early centuries of the Christian era the Jaina ascetics who established the Dighambara sect of Jainism in Tāmil land, Āndhra and the Karṇātaka enriched the three vernacular languages of these countries.[8] Unlike the Buddhists, they did not use the modulated Prākṛt forms but used Sanskṛt words as in their original in vernacular writing and thus embellished the Tēlagu, Tāmil and Kanarese literatures.[9] Moreover, to the Jainas belongs the credit of having first started the elementary vernacular schools in these lands. Indeed, though the Jainas have long ceased to exist in great numbers in the Āndhra, Tāmil and Karṇātaka provinces, the salutation with which the children commenced their studies

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1 Vijjayānanda Suri, *Tattavanirnayaprasada*, pp. 412-413.

2 A similar idea is expressed in Pūrṇakalaśa Guni's commentary on Hemachandra Suri's *Kumārapālacharita*, also known as Prakṛta Dvyaśraya.

3 Manu, *op. et loc. cit.*

4 Rhys Davids, *Psalms of Early Sisters*, p. 57.

5 Das, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

6 *Hemchandra Suri's Commentary on Viśeṣa*, v. 7, p. 10.

7 *Śilāṅka Śūri's Commentary on Viśeṣa*, v. 7, p. 8.

8 Das, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

9 *Ibid.*

in the Jaina schools, the varṇamālā, is still current in the form in which it had been first introduced by them.[1]

The duration of studies, as it appears from Maladhārin Hemacandra Sūri's commentary on Viśeṣa,[2] filled up the major part of the student's active life. During the first half which took up twelve precious years of his life, he was disciplined in what was termed *grahaṇa-śikṣā*, or memorising the sūtras without attempting to understand their meaning. This was followed by a further period of twelve years during which the meaning of what he had learnt by rote was explained to him, a period which was technically described as that of *āsēvanā-śikṣā*. An instance of the existence of a similar method in China may be gathered from a description of the Chinese primary schools in the early period when students were compelled to memorise texts beyond their power of comprehension that were explained to them only after the process of learning by heart had been completed and their minds had been stored up with an array of literary masterpieces.[3] It is no wonder that under this obviously faulty system of education it required seventeen years of unremitting study to become a Savant or *Śruta-kevalin*. What was worse still, this study commenced only after the expiry of three years from the acceptance of the dīkṣā, i.e., at the age of ten years at the earliest, so that a Jaina scholar might be said to have completed his education only when he reached middle age. As for the laity, there was a prescribed limit to their acquisition of scriptural knowledge. The *Cuṇṇi on Āvassava sutta* distinctly says that the range of knowledge of a Srāvaka extended from eight *pravacanamātṛs* to the study of *Chajjivaṇiya*, the fourth *ajjhayana* of *Dasaveyaliyasūtta*.[4]

On the completion of studies, academic honours in different grades such as the diplomas of Paṇḍita and Bahuśruta and the Doctorate were conferred on the successful candidates according to merit. No mention of the Master's Degree given to Buddhist students is made in Jaina literature. References to the Doctorate are, however, frequent; and it appears that for obtaining this degree the student had to have research work to his credit.

The examination invariably took the form of a debate in which the knowledge of the student was tested. Those students who came out successful from these contests were awarded titles, conveying an idea of the extent of their learning. A student who had mastered the entire scriptural lore, including the fourteen Pūrvas, was called Śrutakevalin. If he had mastered only the fourteen Pūrvas he was given the title of Chaturdasapurvin and so on in a descending series down to the man who had learnt a single Pūrva only and received

1 Das, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

2 Maladhārin Hemachandra Suri's *Commentary on Viśeṣa*, p. 9 (v. 7).

3 Latourette, *The Chinese, their History and Culture*, p. 318.

4 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

the title of Ekapūrvadhara.[1] In like manner the mastery of the different Aṅgas was designated by means of titles, ekādasāṅgrid being the title of a student who knew eleven aṅgas and so on. Besides these, there were other titles such as Śrutasthavīra,[2] Śrutakalpita,[3] Arthakalpita,[4] Kalikālasa, Avadhijñanius,[5] Manadparyayajñānius, Vādin, which had probably been in vogue almost from the beginning of Jainism.[6]

The Jaina schools were closed only in abnormal times so that in comparison with the inmates of the Hindu and the Buddhist institutions Jaina scholars enjoyed fewer holidays. These were occasioned either by unusually oppressive weather or by some out-of-the-way occurrence such as pollution of the atmosphere by the slaughter of animals, by a hostile incursion or by a civil war. These holidays were called Asvadhyāya.[7]

Finally, Jaina literature bears ample testimony to the fact that scholarship in ancient India received due encouragement from the state. Thus, we read in the Cuṇṇi on Avassaya Sutta,[8] that one Āryarakṣita who had gone to Pāṭaliputra to prosecute his studies there, was welcomed by his king with great honours on his return to his native city after the completion of his studies.[9]

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1 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

2 A person who studies Thāna and Samavāya was designated as Srutasthvīra.

3 One who studies from Avasayya upto Ayara was called Sūtakalpita.

4 Arthakalpita was the title given to one who studies from Avasayya upto Suyagada.

5 Rajaśekhara, *Prabandhakeśa*, p. 50.

6 Cf. *Pajjosanakappa*, s. 138-142.

7 Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

8 *Ibid.*

9 Even after finishing of the studies the Jaina scholar had to be ready at a moment's notice for the *Śāstrārtha* or literary affray (Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 158), a circumstance which would suggest that he had to keep himself always abreast of the knowledge of his subjects. These *Śāstrārthas* were very often presided over by the king himself who acted as a judge and apportioned victory and defeat. At one such controversy between Mallavādin and Buddhānanda king Śilāditya of Valabhī is said to have presided. Similarly, Belasri of Antarañjika gave the award in the discussion between Gupta Sūri and his pupil Rohagupta also known as Saduluka. It was also at one such contest that Malla, as we have already noted, won the title of Vādin. Other titles bestowed on these occasions included the appellations of Kevalin, i.e., one who was conversant with the past, present and future, Sarvajña, trikāladarśin, avojña, etc. They invariably conveyed the idea of omniscience (cf. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 246).

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Agriculture appears to have been the chief occupation of the people under the Maitraka kings. Nevertheless, there were in the country besides the agriculturists who formed the bulk of the population, rich classes of traders and industrialists. Surāṣṭra was ranked among the most important provinces. Its importance lay mainly in the circumstance that it possessed splendid harbours to which flocked people from all quarters of the globe with their merchandise.

As to the importance of Valabhī as a prosperous centre of trade and commerce, we have sufficient evidence. Hiuen Tsiang, while describing the kingdom, says: " The population is very dense, the establishments rich. There are some hundred houses (families) or so, who possess a hundred lakhs. The rare and valuable products of distant regions are here stored in great quantities,"[1] and proceeding further, " The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundant harvests. Shrubs and trees are numerous and flourishing. Flowers and fruits are met with in great quantities. The soil is suitable in an especial manner for winter wheat. They mostly eat biscuits and (or, made of) parched corn flour."[2] Literary evidence also bears testimony to this. For example, in the *Dasakumāracharita* of Daṇḍin[3] we find this reference; " there is a city named Valabhī in Surāṣṭra. In it there is an owner of ships (Nāvikapati) named Gṛhagupta who can vie with Kubera in riches. He had a daughter named Ratnamati. A merchant-prince named Balabhadra from Madhumati (Mahuva) comes to Valabhī and marries her . . . etc."[4] It is clear from this that even private individuals possessed ships of their own. The story, moreover, associates Keṭaka with Valabhī. A similar reference to a rich merchant of Valabhī is found in the *Kathāsarita-sāgara*. Here, the author Somadeva speaks of one Vidhyādhara,[5] who was born in the family of a merchant of Valabhī named Vasudatta. This Vidhyādhara was ordered by his father to go to another country where he had some business interests. In the same work, again, a merchant named Devasena of Pāṭaliputra is shown as going to Valabhī on business and leaving his wife Kirtisenā to the tender mercies of his mother.[6]

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[1] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 266.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[3] The book was written before A.D. 700—a work almost contemporaneous with the Maitraka dynasty.

[4] Daṇḍin, *Dasakumāracharita*, p. 225.

[5] Somadeva, *Kathāsarita-sāgar*, p. 85.

अचिरेणैव जातोऽहं भूतलेवणिजां कुले।
नगर्यां वलभिनाम्न्यां महाधनवणिक् सुतः॥

Taranga 22.

[6] *Ibid.*, taranga 29, p. 130.

We also know that a poor Mārwādi from Pāli called Kākuraṅka came to Valabhī to try his fortune there. Within a short period he prospered and, it is narrated by the bards, once dissatisfied with the king, he invited the Mlechchhas to destroy the city and assisted them with money.[1]

Finally, it seems to be frequent in the ancient folk-lore of the country to associate the Suvarṇa-puruṣa and Kalpa-vṛkṣa (a tree whose mysterious powers enabled one to attain one's desired object) with Valabhī.[2] Such legends tend to show that people could with little effort prosper in the city, and suggest the general natural wealth of the country.

Among the industries that flourished in the Maitraka dominions during the early days of the Valabhī kingdom, polishing of carnelians may easily be said to have ranked in the first place.[3] Other industries that may be mentioned are spinning and weaving, masonry and carpentry, iron smelting, jewellery, brassware and potteries.[4] The gold and silver vessels of the period were outstanding for their exquisite workmanship,[5] while the arts of printing and painting, colouring and dyeing, especially tye-dyeing or 'bāndhani,' very popular in this part of the country,[6] were also patronised. Other articles produced there included incense, mirrors and toilet requisites such as cosmetics, scents and collyrium.[7]

According to the Valabhī copper-plate inscriptions the people had a taste for ornamentation—a taste which is usually born of prosperity. Evidence of this is seen in the descriptions of the city itself, laid out, it is said, to resemble the human ear.[8] This was a fortified place surrounded by a wall, as may easily be seen from the ruins. A moat ran round this wall which was pierced by a number of gates and at each of these gates there was a wooden bridge to cross the moat.[9] A reference to the city's gates is also found in some Valabhī grants.[10] There was ample open space outside the ramparts, where the army could be encamped and fairs held. Some places were even reserved for gardens[11] and orchards which answered to the need both of recreation and religion.

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1 Merutunga, *Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*, p. 127 ff; Jinarijayaji, *Puratana Prabadha*, p. 37 ff; Sachhau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 192 ff.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 78, note 1.

4 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 178; Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 89.

5 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 124 (text 142); Beal, *op. cit.*, I, p. 77.

6 Motichandra, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 *Ibid.*

8 I owe this information to Prof. Nadvi of Ahmedabad.

9 *Ibid.*

10 Bühler, "Valabhī Grants," *I. A.*, IX, p. 237 ff.

11 Diskalkar, "The Second Half of a Valabhī Grant of Sam. 210," *E. I.*, XIX, p. 125 ff.

References to the maritime activities of the people of Valabhī are given in the Buddhist work *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa.*[1] It says that the people of Valabhī reached Sūrā by crossing the sea which probably refers to their trade ventures to, and regular commerce with. Assyria.[2] This information of the *Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa* is further corroborated by Daṇḍin who, in his *Daśakumāracharita,* says that there lived in the city of Valabhī a ship's captain (Nāvikapati), who seems to have been as rich as the god of wealth himself.[3]

Thus we see that peace and prosperity of the country assisted in promoting inter-provincial as well as foreign trade, bringing in an era of great prosperity. An instance in point of the foreign trade of Valabhī is furnished by the fact recorded by McCrindle, that China silk formed part of the export trade of Barygazes (Broach) with Rome.[4] It is probable that other commodities like rice, wheat, sugarcane, jute and precious stones may have also formed part of the same trade.[5] Inland trade was mostly carried on by cart or beasts of burden.[6]

The regulation of trade and industries, was probably managed by guilds. No information is yielded by the inscriptions about the origin of this guild system. Hence, we are not in a position to say whether it was an indigenous organisation or imported from elsewhere. The Valabhī copper-plate grants tell us that it prevailed there from the very beginning.[7] We are also told that the army of Bhaṭārka, the founder of the dynasty, consisted of various elements including guilds (śrēṇi). This along with the mention of corporate activity among traders and craftsmen in the ancient literature of northern India and their organisation into guilds with the śreṣṭhi at the head,[8] seems to suggest that the system in its organised form was probably introduced into the Valabhī kingdom from the early days of the Maitraka rule, and gradually developed to perfection. The guilds thus served the purpose of protecting the interests of the indigenous trades and craftsmen against foreign competitors. And we know from the evidence cited above that there were many foreign traders at Valabhī.

The state interfered whenever a guild became involved in a dispute. Thus, "If a man," says Manu, "belonging to a corporation, inhabiting a village or a district, after swearing to an agreement, breaks it through avarice, the

1 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Daṇḍin, *Daśakumaracharita*, p. 173, (text 113); *Mahājanaka Jātaka*, VI, p. 39; Fausboll, *The Jātaka*, III, p. 187.

4 McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erithryacan Sea*, pp. 96-107.

5 Das, *The Economic History of Ancient India.*

6 Majumdar and Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

7 Sten Konow, "The Pālitāṇa Plates of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, XI, p. 112.

8 (Januda pana Jātaka) Cowell, *Jātakas*, p. 182.

king shall banish him from his realm."[1] Yājñavālkya goes a step further and says that "if a man steals the property of a guild or any other corporation or breaks agreement . . . he shall be banished from the realm and his property confiscated."[2]

The epigraphical records do not explain the constitution and working of these guilds. However, it is possible that the most important of their functions was the regulation of the economic life of the town. In directing the trade and industries, it is natural that the special interests of the members were always kept in view. It is evident from the state of affairs in the neighbouring countries that the guilds also served as local banks and treasury offices. We are told in the Lakṣmeśvar inscription of Vikramāditya of the Western Chāḷukya family of Baḍāmi that the guild of braziers was authorised to collect taxes from all classes of people at the time fixed by the king for payment.[3] We also learn from the same records that the guilds were the centre of all activity in the city. They celebrated the feasts[4] and other religious ceremonies and probably made provision for plays and pageants for the entertainment of the citizens.

In the Deccan, specially in Karṇātaka,[5] guilds may be classed under two broad divisions, the merchant guilds and the craft guilds. The merchants organised themselves after the commodities they sold. Thus, for instance, there was a guild of the fruit merchants,[6] another of cloth merchants,[7] and so on. Similarly also, the craftsmen may have organised their guilds according to their craft.

The guilds having spread themselves all over the country, rendered valuable service to the people by ministering to all their wants, economic, social and religious.

In this period, too, as in all other periods of ancient Indian history, prices of market commodities were controlled by the state and consequently the effects of their rise and fall were carefully observed. As Yājñavālkya says, "Sale and purchase shall be conducted daily according to the value fixed by the king; and the surplus on the fixed value is to be recognised as the first value of the trade."[8] This state control of prices naturally affected the general standard of living in the country, which appears to have been very inexpensive.

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1 *Manu*, VIII, 219, (p. 293).

2 *Yajñavālkya*, II, 187-97; *Bṛhaspati*, XVII, 13, p. 348.

3 Barnett, "Laksmeshwar Pillar Inscription of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya," *E. I.*, XIV, p. 190.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 285.

6 Barnett, "Two Inscriptions from Belgaum," *E. I.*, XIII, p. 15.

7 *Ibid.*

8 Yājñavalkya, II, 254 (p. 106).

This is corroborated by the Sañchi stone inscription according to which "twelve dinaras (one dinara was worth approximately three-quarters of a tola of gold) are given, (as) a permanent endowment, to the community of the faithful, collected from the four quarters of the world, at the holy great Vihāra of Kakanadabota. With the interest that accrues from these dinaras, day by day, one Bhikshu, who has been introduced into the community, should be fed."[1] If we suppose that the people followed the recommendations made in the Smṛtis and endowments fetched interest at rates varying from twelve to twenty-four per cent. a year,[2] it would follow that the yearly expenses of feeding a person amounted to one dinara. The cost of living being thus very low, it is easy to believe, the cowries were used as media of exchange[3] in the day-to-day transactions, while the system of barter was very popular, specially in the countryside.

The prosperity of Valabhī was in short manifested in its lofty structures, beautiful vihāras, gardens (upavana), libraries, bazaars, tanks of clear water,[4] collections of the rarities from far and wide,[5] and its organised system of trade and commerce. It is equally manifest in the description of the people who were "of gentle disposition and for the most part very intelligent, of refined speech and with a liberal education."[6]

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1 Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 262.

2 According to Manu (VIII, 140-141) and Yājñavalkya, the normal rate of interest should be 15 per cent. per annum, or one-eightieth part of the actual capital per mensem, cf. *Yājñavalkya*, II, 37; Kautilya recommends the same rate of interest, cf. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 178.

3 Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 207; Fa Hien, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

4 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, I, p. 45.

5 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 242.

6 *Ibid.* This description is given for the people of Mālavā, but people of Valabhī are said to be resembling them.

CHAPTER V

COINAGE

The foundation of the Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwāḍ coinage was probably laid by the Greeks[1] on which foundation, as Dr. Sankalia maintains, " the superstructure was built by the succeeding rulers."[2] When we examine the early coins of this part of the country, we find that the indigenous coins of the pre-Greek period are very small silver coins weighing about five to seven grains and having as symbols a Swastika, a Triśūla and a Chakra. Another smaller variety of about four grains has also been found. These coins have a mis-shapen elephant on the obverse and something resembling a circle on the reverse.[3] The Bactrian Greeks issued many varieties of silver and copper coins in Gujarāt, both round and square. The legend on these was in the Bactro-Pāli character.[4] Unfortunately, none of them is dated.

The Kṣatrapas were the successors of the Greeks in Gujarāt. They discarded many of the Greek features and issued new varieties of copper-coins. The legend was in Kharōṣṭi and Brāhmi and in some cases in both. The symbol on most of these coins was a crescent surmounting chaitya having a wavy line beneath. This symbol reveals the early Āndhra contact.[5] On the obverse was the head of the king facing towards the right, with locks of hair. Above the figure there was the Greek version of the legend, which was preceded by the date in Brāhmi numerals. The form of the legend on the Kṣatrapa coins was " Rajño Kshtrapasa Viradamapuhasa Rajña Mahākshatrapasa Rudrasena." These coins were about five to six times heavier than the Greek coins.[6]

The only coin of Lucius Verus found in this part of the country[7] may be a very slender argument in favour of Roman influence during the first century of the Christian era. Otherwise the connection between the Mediterranean ports and Broach is known to have been established about this time.[8] The Romans, it is believed, used to pay for their goods in silver denarii and gold aureii[9] and not in kind. The reason why very few of their coins have come down to us seems to be, as Warmington has suggested, that they were melted down by the Śakas, and hence became rare in Gujarāt and practically left no influence on the coinage of the country.[10]

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1 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 16.

2 Sankalia, *Archæology of Gujarat*, p. 184.

3 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Pt. I, p. 17. These small local coins were found in Hālār Gōndal.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

6 *Bombay Gazetteer*, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 *Ibid.*, Sankalia, *op. et loc. cit.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. cxxxviii, cxliv.

10 Warmington, *Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 290.

When the Guptas conquered Gujarāt, the Gujarāt currency was influenced by the Gangetic (or Magadhyadesi).[1] The symbols on such Gupta coins are a Garuda, or a cluster of dots, a wavy line beneath a border of dots, and at times even a bull couchant to the right and altar with fire on it[2] or a peacock. Thus the new features introduced by the Guptas in the coinage of Gujarāt consisted of all these symbols and a purely Sanskrit legend in the nominative. The practice of putting the date was retained, but the Gupta era was introduced. The legend on the Gupta coins was "Parama Bhāgavata Mahārājadhirāja Śrī Kumāragupta Mahendrādityah." As regards the fabric and the weight of their coins, the Gupta kings followed their predecessors. Most of their coins were of silver or silver-coated copper fabric. They did not give a gold currency to Gujarāt, as they gave to other parts of their empire. Moreover, the fullness, variety and the artistic skill found on their coins elsewhere is not traced here. The two religious symbols, the Garuḍa and the Bull, were new to this country.

As regards the currency of the Traikuṭakas, we know that they issued round silver coins having a head on the obverse and the so-called chaitya on the reverse. The legend, however, was similar partly to that on the Gupta coins, and partly to that on the Kṣatrapa coins.

The Maitraka kings of Valabhī who were the political successors of the Guptas in Surāṣṭra and the neighbouring country struck their own coins on the model of their predecessors.[3] A series of silver and copper coins are attributed to them.[4] Of these coins we generally come across two distinct types. The first, which was perhaps the earlier type, is 6″ in diameter and has a weight of about 29 grains. A comparative study seems to show that the former were modelled on the Kṣatrapa coins, to which they bear a close resemblance, and that the latter are similar to the Gupta coins in shape, size as well as the type of their legend. The Valabhī coins like the later Gupta coins are found to be silver-coated and not pure silver. The head on the obverse resembles that of the Kṣatrapa kings and faces towards the right with vague traces of headdress, locks and moustaches. The Greek legend on the Kṣatrapa coins is altogether omitted. Nor is the date traceable on the obverse. The reverse carries a new device, a trident, an emblem of Śaivism to which on some coins, probably those of the later type, an axe (parśu) is also added. The significance of this addition is not easy to explain. Mr. G. V. Acharya suggests this to be an emblem of Paraśurāma and consequently a symbol of Vaiṣṇavism, denoting the spread

1 Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

2 Allan, *Coins of the Gupta Dynasty*, p. ci; *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, p. 71.

3 Such coins of the Maitraka kings are said to have been very plentiful in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwāḍ, perhaps more plentiful than those of the western Kṣatrapas and the Guptas put together (cf. Newton, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VII, p. 33).

4 The Valabhī coins were first brought to notice by Mr. James Prinsep in *J. A. S. B.*, IV, (1835), p. 687, pl. XLIX, Nos. 6-9. Subsequently Thomas (*J. R. A. S.*, XII, p. 63) and Newton (*J. B. B. R. A. S.*, VII, p. 13) made further efforts to decipher them.

of that faith. However, the argument may be advanced in favour of Śaivism also, as Parśurāma happened to be a great devotee of Lord Śiva, as narrated in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The device in either case is surrounded by a legend inscribed in debased characters of the Brāhmi alphabet. Several attempts[1] have been made to decipher the corrupt legend on these coins, but no definite result is arrived at. Anyhow, the word 'Bhaṭṭārka' in this legend is quite clearly read by all the scholars who have attempted to read these coins. That these coins were issued by the kings of Valabhī is also corroborated by evidence of their provenance, inasmuch as a large number of them have been found round about the site of Valabhī. Also the device of the trident is the emblem of Śaivism, the royal religion of the Valabhī kingdom.

As regards the legend itself we know that it is not fully deciphered as yet. However, different readings have been suggested by various scholars without any definite conclusion. According to Dr. Cunningham the legends read thus[2]:

(i) " Mahā-Rājño Mahākshatrapa Paramasāmanta mahā Srī Bhaṭṭārasa,
(ii) Rājño Mahā Kshatrapa Paramāditya Rājño Sāmanta Mahā Śrī Bhaṭṭārkasa.
(iii) Mahā Rājño Mahā Kshatrapa Sāmanta maheśa.
Paramāditya Dharasenasa."

But, Mr. Acharya has read the legends on palæographic grounds as[3]:

" (i) Raṣṭra sara Kshatrapasa ku samara
Sara śrīh Bhaṭṭārakasa " and also as
" (ii) Rājño Mahākshatrapa . . . . (Dhara) nu
Dhyata (ku) samara saha Śrī Sarvva Bhaṭṭārakasa."

In an article, appearing in a recent number of the *Journal of the Numismatic Society*, Prof. Mirashi has tried to give a third reading of the legend as:

" Rājño Mahākshatrapa—(pa) ramāditya-
bhakta—Mahāsamanta—Śrī Sarvva-
Bhaṭṭārakasa," i.e. (This is a coin) of the king,
Mahākshatrapa and Mahāsamanta, the illustrious lord Sarva
who is a fervent devotee of the Sun.[4]

He attributes these coins to a king named Sarva who according to him flourished not long after the western Kṣatrapas and owed allegiance to the Guptas or to the Traikuṭakas.[5] But since no ruler of this name is known to have ruled over this country his theory falls to the ground. On the other hand,

[1] *Purāttatva*, II, p. 58; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, I, p. 127; Acharya, *Numismatic Supplement*, XLVII, p. 99.

[2] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, IX, p. 28 ff.

[3] Acharya, *Numismatic Supplement*, No. XLVII, Silver Jubilee No., p. 99.

[4] Mirashi, " The Legend on Valabhī Coins," *J. N. S. of India*, VI, pp. 16-17.

[5] *Ibid.*

the very fact that a large number of such coins are found among the ruins of the old city of Vaḷā bearing the Śaivite emblem together with the name of Bhaṭṭāraka makes us believe that they were issued by the Maitrakas themselves. Their debased nature makes difficult a proper reading of the legend in which, as Cunningham remarks, " at least one-half of the symbols are mere upright strokes with a knob at the top like a common pin."[1] These coins are no aid in determining any history.

On a minute examination, however, conducted both by Mr. H. G. Shastri and myself at the Prince of Wales Museum, where about 19 of such coins are available, the legend which is inscribed in two varieties of Brāhmi is found to read as follows:—

(I) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

23 24

(II) 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22

The first two letters in both the types are undoubtedly ' Rājño ' and resemble those on the coins of the western Kshatrapas [2] The fifth and the sixth letters can also be clearly read as ' Ksha-*tra*.' This indicates that the next word should be Kṣa-tra-pa preceded by ma-hā. The fourth letter in the first type is distinctly ' ha ' rather than ' ra '. The word should be then completed as ' Mahā-Kṣatrapasa ', to be combined with ' Rājño '. Thus the seventh and the eighth letters are ' pa-sa.' Such a form of ' sa ' resembling ' pra ' is not quite uncommon in legends on coins. The seventh letter in the second type appears to consist of three vertical parallel strokes with one horizontal stroke below. The corresponding character in the first type may perhaps be read as ' pa-ra ', but it has to be taken as ' pa ' only, inasmuch as it is the only letter to be inserted between ' tra ' and ' sa '. The eighth letter in the second type is followed by three vertical strokes, which are again followed by ' ku '. In the first variety there are found three distinct letters between ' sa ' and ' ku '. This shows that the three vertical strokes, in fact, stand for three different letters. ' Ku '

[1] Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, IX, p. 29.

[2] Cf. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras*, p. 80.

in both types is followed by 'sa' and the letters from nine to thirteen appear to form the third word of the legend. Hence it can tentatively be read as 'Bha-ṭā-ra-ka-sa', as they mostly resemble the last five letters of the legend, which are distinctly read as such. The stroke below 'ka' cannot be explained.

The fourteenth letter is clearly read as 'ma' in the second type. The next letter may be 'ra' or 'ha'. The sixteenth and the seventeenth letters are 'sa-ra'. As the eighteenth letter represents 'śrī' or 'śrīḥ', it follows that the fourth word of the legend ends with the seventeenth letter. Thus the next word consists of four letters, the first of which is 'ma' and the last two 'sa-ra'. Hence it may be read as 'mahesar', the Prakṛt form of 'Maheśvara'. As this word does not end in 'sa', it has to be taken as compounded with the next word. As regards the eighteenth letter, the visarga following it bears no doubt, that the letter should be read as 'Śrī'. Grammatically, the visarga in the second variety should be omitted.

Now remains the last word ending in 'sa'. The last three letters preceding 'sa' are 'ṭara-ka' or 'ṭṭa-ra-ka'. This portion makes it quite clear that the letter preceding it must be 'Bha', the whole word standing for 'Bhaṭṭārakasa'. The two strokes following 'Śrī' in the first variety apparently resemble 'ta-ra', but can be constructed as 'Bha' connectively. The corresponding letter in the second type which though it is difficult to be deciphered may be read as 'Sarvva'. If the following vertical stroke alone represents 'Bha' we can hardly make out anything out of this composite letter. It should be, however, noted that this letter has no parallel in the first variety, except the left-hand stroke of 'Bha'. Then the complete legend will be read as:

'Rājño Mahākshatrapasa Bhatārakasa Mahesara—
Śrī Bhaṭṭārakasa' or
'Rājño, Mahakshatrapasa Bhatarakasa Mahesara
Śrī Sarvva[1] Bhaṭṭārakasa.'

This reading would appear to be preferable to the preceding ones. According to it the legend may be translated thus: "(This is the coin) of the illustrious the Śaivite, Bhaṭṭāraka, the king, the great Kshatrapa, the Lord, and the devotee of Maheśvara."

The legend on the Valabhī seal is "Śrī Bhaṭakka" and the device is that of a Bull, the sacred vehicle of Śiva. Similarly, the trident on the coins represents another emblem of Śaivism. The legend contains the name of Bhaṭārka, the founder of the Valabhī kingdom. It is very curious that the Valabhī coins do not give the year of issue.

[1] The word Sarvva may be taken to mean Śaivite, and it stands as an adjective before Bhaṭṭārakasa.

As regards the titles of Bhaṭārka, the grants represent him as a Paramamaheśvara and Senāpati. On the seal, his name is preceded only by a 'Śrī'. The legend on the coins as read above represents Bhaṭṭāraka as Rāja, Mahākshatrapa, Bhaṭṭāraka and Maheśvara. The first two titles were obviously inserted by imitation from the coinage of the Kṣatrapas. All the great Kṣatrapa kings bore the titles of Rājā and Mahakṣatrapa. The religious title Maheśvara is found in the copper-plate grants. As for the title Bhaṭṭāraka we know that this was the proper name of the founder of the Maitraka line, as well as the royal title of its kings—and at times even of religious heads. The later Maitraka kings bore the title of Paramabhaṭṭāraka in their grants. In the case of the early kings of Valabhī, such as Dhruvasena I, this very title meant their suzerainty. It may also be possible that Bhaṭṭāraka was originally the specific title of the founder and later on it came into use as the name of the hero.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION

An idea of the various aspects of the system of administration under the Maitraka kings in Surāṣṭra (i.e., about the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D.) may be obtained from some of their copper-plate grants that have come to light together with the records of their predecessors and successors. However, as rightly observed by Dr. Beni Prasad, all " the literary, epigraphical and numismatic evidence on Ancient Indian History does not suffice to give an idea of the details of the system of administration at a given epoch."[1]

According to the Hindus the ancient Indian state was made up of several elements with which we are familiar to-day.[2] They are the king, the *amātya* or the officials, the *janapāda* or *rāṣṭrapāda* or the territory, the *durga* or the fort, the *kośa* or the treasury, the judiciary, the *daṇḍa* (*bala*) or the army and the *mitra* or the allies.[3] These elements were called by the technical name of the *Prakṛtis* of the rājya.[4]

The system of government was as a rule unitary, although under the Mauryas the structure of the state appears to have acquired what might be called a federal character in modern parlance.[5] The Mauryan polity, indeed, might be classified as a loose confederation of several states established by the express consent of the constituent units.[6] But beneath this semblance of a federation the Mauryan system retained the main characteristics of a unitary regime controlled from the centre.

The administrative machinery itself was reared about the seven prakṛtis of the rājya.[7] The first and the most important of these, the Śvāmin or the king, is invariably shown in the records as the supreme lord enjoying unlimited powers in his dominions. But this may perhaps have been so only in theory.[8] True, the sovereign enjoyed a great amount of power and was surrounded by the great pomp with which oriental sovereignty is proverbially associated.

1 Beni Prasad, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp. 335-36.

2 *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1, p. 257; *Yājñavālkya*, I, 353; *Manu*, IX, 249; *Visnudharmasutra*, III, 33; *Gautama Sutra*, quoted in *Śarasvati Vilasa*, p. 45; *Śāntiparva*, 64-69; *Matsya Pūrāṇa*, 225, 11, 239; *Agñi Pūrāṇa*, 233, 12; Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 17.

3 *Yājñavalkya*, I, 353; *Manu*, IX, 294; Kane, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 6, 104; *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1.

4 Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 65; Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 17.

5 Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 79.

6 *Ibid.*

7 *Yājñavalkyas*, I, 353; *Manu*, IX, 294; *Arthaśāstra*, VI, 1.

8 A king who after assuring of protection does not stick to his words may be killed, cf. *Manu*, VII, 27-28.

He occupied the first place in the kingdom by exercising the supreme authority not only in political but in religious matters as well. Yet, as Dr. Balkrishna has aptly remarked, " the Hindu political science does not recognise an irresponsible, unerring, unpunishable and unjust king. It takes him to be endowed with divine functions rather than with divine rights."[1] The tendency to despotic rule was checked by customs and conventions which made it necessary for the king to seek counsel from the ministers and the religious heads in the land. Further, he had to submit to the same moral code as any ordinary citizen, notwithstanding the attributes of his elevated office. Thus the trend of Hindu jurisprudence was towards the observance of duties rather than the exercise of rights.[2] A king in ancient India seems to have been acutely conscious of his duties as laid down in the *Rājadharma*. He always aimed at earning the epithet of *Rājarśi* or a saintly king. Hence, as Dr. Shamasastri has truly written, the religious, ethical and political restraints which morality placed on the rulers of ancient India were more successful in practice as compared with the constitutional checks of modern parliamentarianism.[3] Neither in ancient nor in mediæval India was there any possibility of a despotic form of government.

Yājñavālkya tells us that a ruler must conform to certain ideals of kingship. The ideal king is one who possesses unbounded energy in the discharge of duty; he is generous in his bounty and free in the recognition of services, obligations, and injuries received (Kṛtajñatā); he is austere in outlook, devoted to the elders and possesses the faculty correctly to divine the object of things. Above all, he must be intelligent and cultivate a love for truth. To this ideal the Maitraka rulers appear to have conformed successfully. Their inscriptions describe them throughout as scrupulously following the rules laid down in the Smṛtis.[4] We are told, for instance, that king Dhruvasena II was " like Manu himself, resorted to by his subjects, whose minds were full of affection on account of his high virtues."[5] A similar instance found in the same records is that of king Dronasiṁha who is also recorded as having " acted according to the duties prescribed for kings by Manu and other law-givers and was consequently a Dharmarāja who had made provision for education (vinaya) and systematic government (vyavasthā paddhati) of his people."[6]

From a very early age the king performed religiously all legislative, executive, military and judicial functions in the empire. He made all laws

1 Balkrishna, " Evolution of the State," *I. H. Q.*, III, p. 325.

2 Sathe, " A Hindu King," *Triveni*, IV, No. 5, p. 51.

3 Shamasastri, " Forms of Government in Ancient India," *A. B. O. R. I.*, XII, pp. 20-23.

4 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 200; Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 85.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 90.

6 Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 168.

in the country, and supervised their execution.[1] He was the commander-in-chief of all the armies and every military chief owed him obedience. Yājñavālkya says that he had to " divest (himself) of anger and avarice and to administer justice along with learned Brāhmaṇas in conformity with the principles of legal science.[2] Although the Smṛtis transformed his office into a godhead,[3] his powers were not unrestricted, as we have shown above. The Manu Smṛti further tells us that he should be honest in acquisition of wealth and discerning in his munificence, and condemns unjust taxation as detrimental to the welfare of the state [4] In the words of Yājñavālkya again, " a king who multiplied his treasury by unfair (taxation) from his kingdom was in no time shorn of his prosperity and met with destruction along with his own people."[5] Moreover, in accordance with the rules of ancient political economy, wealth must be well protected and well spent, and the surplus distributed among worthy persons. Thus a large portion of the royal wealth must be spent on donations to the Brāhmaṇas and on the protection and welfare of his subjects. For as Yājñavālkya, again, says, " there was no higher religion for kings " than this. The material prosperity of the state was deemed to depend upon the measure of protection and happiness which the king could confer upon all the people in his dominions.

The king, being the sovereign lord of the state, and all land being vested in him as state property, could make gifts of it to whomsoever he desired.[6] He could issue orders to build temples and monasteries and to construct dams,[7] he could command officers and cultivators regarding grants,[8] and appoint and promote officers even though their offices were hereditary.[9] He could give shelter to foreigners who came to settle down in his lands, and impose, recover and remit taxes. This is also clear from the Maitraka copper-plates which reveal how king Dharasena IV " intensified the happiness of the earth by the lenient levying of taxes,"[10] while Dhruvasena III levied " according to proper custom taxes from his enemies' lands."[11]

In the work of government the king was assisted by his officials who were collectively known as the amātya.[12] The Smṛtis tell us that it was the king's

1 Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 104.

2 *Yājñavālkya*, II, p. 631 (" Krōdha-lōbha-vivarjitah ", etc.).

3 *Manu*, VII, 12-13 (pp. 216-217): *Yājñavālkya*, (I, 312-313) requires the king to consult his ministers, then a Brāhmaṇa and finally decide all the secular and religious matters himself; cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 110; Mitākṣara recommends the same policy; *Narada*, XVIII, 20-23, p. 217.

4 *Manu*, VII, p. 237.

5 *Yājñavālkya*, II, p. 631.

6 *Ibid.*, III, p. 401.

7 Fleet, *op. cit.* ,III, pp. 45, 56, 64.

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 52, 169, 199.

9 *Ibid.*, pp. 35, 63.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 183.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Arthaśāstra*, X, I, p. 6.

duty to select these officials. In doing so, he was enjoined to have a particular eye for their ability, wisdom and the family from which they came.[1] In the work of keeping accounts, specially, the king should "appoint devoted, clever and honest men in posts suited to them and energetic men in the work of collection and disbursement."[2] These departmental heads should be conversant with the law and imbued with a love for truth and should bear themselves impartially towards friends and foes alike.[3] This is borne out by Sōmeśvara who also tells us that they were selected by the king himself according to their merit. They should be well versed in the Nitiśāstras and possess all the qualities calculated to win the affection of the people for their sovereign and to lead him along the path of righteousness by their timely advice. They should be natives of the land (svadesajātaḥ), possessed of full information about the country and the times, and their offices were hereditary.[4] Such doubtless were the ministers that attended on the Maitraka rulers, as amply shown by their grants.

The list of officers mentioned in the records of the Maitrakas and their contemporaries is fairly large and comprehensive enough to give us an idea of their administrative machinery. They seem to have been listed in order of their importance in the official cadres. Among the most important are the rājaputra (the prince), the rājamātya (king's counsellor), the dūtaka[5] (who, in most cases, was also the heir-apparent), the rājasthāniya, the mahāsandhivigrahika (minister for war and peace), the mahākṣapātalika (the chief keeper of records), the mahāsāmanta (the chief feudatory), the mahasenāpati (the commander-in-chief), the divira or divirapati[6] (an officer entrusted with working out of accounts), the viniyuktaka, the ayuktaka,[7] the mahāpratihāra (the head chamberlain or door-keeper), the mahādaṇḍasadhānika (the chief

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[1] *Yājñavālkya*, II, 312: *Arthaśāstra*, p. 15.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 53. Appointments of officers were made after Upadha, i.e., after testing their minds as regards dharma, artha, kāma and bhaya by various devices employed by secret agents; *Nitivākyāmṛta*, 14, p. 111, and *Kāmandaka* IV, 277, as quoted by Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 105. And the *Matsya Purāṇa* (215, 2) prescribes "the king, while his head is still wet with water of coronation, if he wants to supervise his state, should choose his helpers, as in the latter the kingdom secures stability," also cf. *Manu*, VII, 55; Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 104.

[3] *Yājñavālkya*, II, Pt. 3, p. 636; Kane, *op. cit.*, III, Ch. I, p. 1.

[4] Sōmeśvara, *Monasollasa*, vv, 52-59, pp. 33-34.

[5] The word dūtaka, which generally means a messenger, was an officer employed in connection with formal grants.

[6] In the Valabhī grants the designation divirapati is always used as a title for the official who drew up the Śāsanas, as prescribed by the Smṛtis (cf. *Manu*, VIII, 63-65).

[7] The functions of the ayuktaka and those of the Viniyuktakas do not seem to be clear. However, the former designation is very ancient, reference to it has been found even in Pāṇini (cf. II, 3, 40). Very probably the word denotes a person appointed to discharge some special duty having religious or charitable purpose. The office of ayukta-puruṣa of the Allahabād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*, line 26) may have some similarity to this office. As for Viniyuktaka we may presume from Kalidas' *Raghuvamśa* (V, 29, p. 103) (Kośagrahe niyuktaka) that he was appointed to administer the treasury.

door-keeper or superintendent of villages),[1] the mahādaṇḍanāyaka (the chief judge whose duties also included those of the head police officer and magistrate), and the mahākumāramātya (the chief counsellor to the prince or the heir-apparent). This hierarchy of officers was in all probability taken by the Maitrakas with very few modifications from their predecessors the Guptas.

These high officials fell into two groups. The ministers who were very often princes of the blood royal constituted by themselves the Pariṣad or the council of ministers. Their functions included a discussion of all state matters, legislation on civil and military affairs, planning of the foreign policy and administration of justice and finance.[2] In short, the council of ministers carried the burden of the country's administration. On occasion, however, the king could veto their decisions if he saw fit to employ such a check on their action.[3] The Pariṣad along with the royal princes and the feudatories of the empire constituted the sabha or the king's council.[4] The most important functions of this body of elders seems to have been the declaration of war and peace, the appointment of a successor to the throne and the summoning of periodic religious councils.[5] Scarcely any evidence worth the name is forthcoming from the Maitraka records on these matters, and for an idea of the working of these bodies we have to fall back on the inscriptions and literary evidence left by other contemporary rulers.[6] All the same, a conclusion would not be justified that the Maitrakas developed a system of their own.

Assisted by the council of ministers the king in those days carried on the administration of the empire. The purely executive functions of the government were discharged by a number of other officials who constituted the several departments of the state, such as the civil secretariat, the revenue department, the police department, the war-office, the judiciary and so forth.

In the provinces the work of administration was carried on by the respective officials at the head of territorial divisions assisted by other subordinate officials. These territorial sub-divisions which were administrative units under the Maitraka regime, as recorded in the inscriptions were the aharaṇi,[7] the sthali,[8] the pathaka,[9] the āhāra,[10] the peṭhā,[11] the viṣaya,[12] the paṭṭa,[13]

1 Cf. Bohligk and Roth, *Sanskrit Worterbuch*, III, p. 787; Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 582.

2 Beni Prasad, *The Theory of Government in Ancient India*, pp. 257-260.

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*, Saletore, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-248.

5 Mookerjee, *op. et loc. cit.*

6 Saletore, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 45; *E. I.*, III, p. 319.

8 Keilhorn, *op. cit.*, XIV, p. 328.

9 Gadre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 83.

10 Sukthankar, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 257; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 22.

11 Fleet, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 187; *Bha. Pr. San. Ins.*, p. 30; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 38.

12 Bühler, *op. cit.*, VI, p. 9; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 45.

13 Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 112.

the bhūmi,[1] the bhūkti,[2] the draṅga,[3] the grāma,[4] the padraka,[5] and the palli[6]. Of these the Viṣaya and the bhukti were synonymous as evident from the copper-plate records, which refer to Mālavaka in one case as a bhūkti[7] and in another as a viṣaya,[8] leaving no difficulty for identifying the two administrative units. The āhāra and the āhāraṇi were also synonymous as indicated by two different records of the Maitraka kings, of which one refers to Hastavapra as āhāraṇi,[9] while the other designates it as āhāra[10] only. Then again in a grant of Dharasena II of the year 270[11] the expression Kheṭaka-āhāra-viṣaya shows that the term āhāra and viṣaya were sometimes, but not generally, used synonymously. As the Hastavapra-āhāra, the Kauṇḍinyapura viṣaya and the Vardhamāna bhūkti formed the main divisions of Surāṣṭra the unit āhāra also seems to be synonymous with the viṣaya and the bhūkti. It is thus clear that even if the designations given to these units are not the same, very little difference existed between them. This difference may be explained from the Kāvi grant dated 486 of the Gurjara kings, where the viṣaya appears to have been taken as a larger administrative area than a rāṣṭra (or āhāra); for the Kāvi grant of Jayabhaṭṭa first mentions the Viṣayapati, then the rāṣṭrapati and last of all the grāma-mahāttara.[12] The paṭṭa and bhūmi are mentioned as sub-divisions of the viṣaya in two different records.[13] The pathaka is represented as a sub-division of the āhāra,[14] while the unit peṭha was included in a ṣṭhali.[15] However, there is no direct reference to the exact position of the sthali in relation to the āhāra and the pathaka. For, like the pathaka in Surāṣṭra the ṣṭhali is also mentioned without any reference to the next large division to which it belonged. But two different references to Jambuvānara in two grants[16] imply that a sthali must have been included in a pathaka, for one refers to it as a sthali, while another mentions it simply

[1] Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 179.

[2] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 188, Mandalik, *op. cit.*, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XI, p. 335.

[3] Gadre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 87.

[4] Acharya, *op. cit.; J. B. B. R. A. S.*, (N. S.), I, p. 73.

[5] Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 70-77.

[6] Bühler, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 339; Dr. Sankalia has taken the words prāvesya, bheda and bhūmi occurring in the Maitraka records as units of administration, but from the context they do not appear to be so, as we have explained elsewhere.

[7] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, VIII, p. 188; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 68.

[8] Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.* ; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 69.

[9] Hultzsch, " Ganesgad Plates of Dhruvasena I," *E. I.*, III, p. 323.

[10] Sukthankar, " Two New Grants of Dhruvasena I from Palitāṇā," *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 107-8.

[11] Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, pp. 70-71.

[12] Bühler, " Inscription from Kāvi," *I. A.*, V, p. 114.

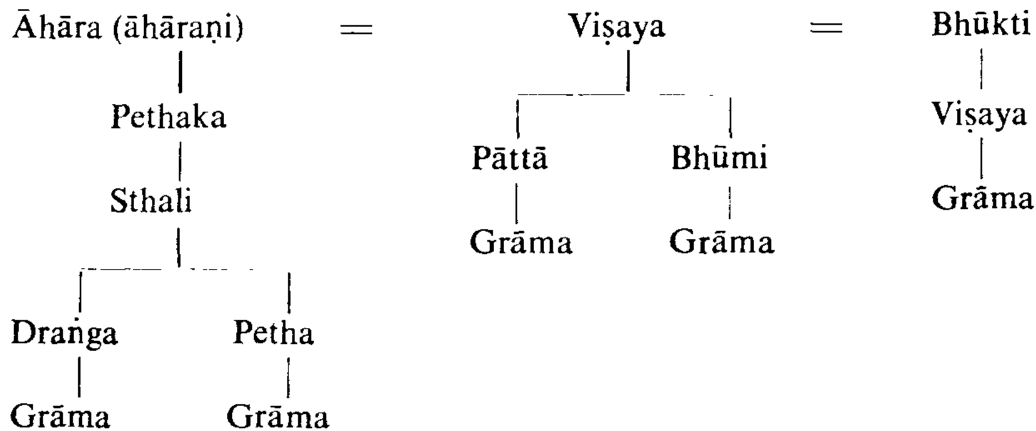
[13] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 86; Gadre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 88.

[14] Acharya, *op. cit.*, (N. S.) I, p. 20; Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 73.

[15] Fleet, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 87.

[16] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 81; Durus, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 968.

as a village in the Kālapaka pathaka. The Dranga was one of the smaller units, but it is not specified to which larger unit it belonged. However, the location of the villages of this dranga suggests that these places must have been situated in the same sthali in which Lusā and Daṇḍāsa were situated. Thus it appears that the dranga was a sub-division of the sthali. The grāma was the smallest unit. Inter-relations between these various units may be summed up as:—



It is thus plain that the largest administrative sub-division in the system adopted by the Maitrakas was the Viṣaya. It was well known in the Gupta, Pāla and other systems of government and appears to have been the equivalent of a Pradēśa mentioned in the Erān inscription of Samudragupta, governed by a Viṣayapati.[1] Under the Guptas, however, whose territories were far greater in extent and included the dominions of the Maitrakas as one of their provinces, the Viṣaya was not the largest administrative unit and ranked after rāṣṭra or deśa.[2]

The Viṣayapati or the governor of the Viṣaya who represented the king, away in the capital of the empire, was, like him in all probability, the head of the provincial government. Possibly, he too, had his own advisory council. This was really the case under the Gupta system. For example, the inscription of Vetravarman, the governor of the Kotivarṣa Viṣaya,[3] states that he was assisted by an advisory board, consisting of the nagarśreṣthin or the guild president, the sārthavaha or the chief caravan leader, the prathama-kulika or the chief merchant and artisan, and the Jyeṣṭha-Kāyastha or the chief scribe.[4] Such district officers had their headquarters (adhiṣṭhāna) in the principal town where they maintained their officers, courts and establishments of clerks according to their respective positions. The Dhanandaha copper-plate grant of Kumāragupta dated A.D. 432-33 clearly states that the intending purchasers

1 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

2 *Ibid*, p. 169.

3 Basak, "The five Dāmōdar Plate Inscriptions," *E. I.*, XV, pp. 131.

4 *Ibid.*

of land had to approach the householders (Kutumbinah) of officers in charge of the eight families (grāmasthakulādhikaraṇa) and the elders of the village (mahāmāttara) before any transaction could be completed.

The old designations continued to be applied, albeit to units very much diminished in size. For Surāṣṭra which together with a part of Gujarāt and Mālavā formed the bulk of the Maitraka dominions, was itself a little larger than a Viṣaya in the sense familiar to the Guptas. Under the Mauryas the whole Gujarāt-Kāṭhiāwāḍ had gone under the designation of janapada and its divisions rāṣṭra, viṣaya,[1] pradeśa, āhāra and grāma, were somewhat similar to those mentioned in the Aśokan Inscriptions and the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya.[2] After the possessions of the Mauryas had come under Greek influence, it is believed to have become a Greek province on the model of the Seleucid eparchies, and that a full Satrapy was established there with a governor responsible only to the king. During the early rule of the Śakas Kāṭhiāwāḍ became an outlying province of their dominions. It continued to be so after their conquest of Gujarāt when for a brief period this country became a part of the Āndhra empire. Its status seems to have improved considerably when the Kṣatrapa king Rudradāman established himself in Mālavā more or less as an independent ruler of western India. The entire province was then governed by his amātyas. During the domination of the Guptas its condition appears to have remained much the same, and it was from the latter that the Maitrakas took their administrative system.

When a sub-division was termed an āhāra, the officer at its head was generally called rāṣṭrapati, but sometimes he was also called an āmātya.[3] The former office corresponded to that of rāṣṭrika of the Mauryas which was of hoary and unknown antiquity through the Scythian to the Maitraka times. But we find no mention made of a ' rāṣṭra ' as an administrative unit under the Maitrakas although the rāṣṭrapati is mentioned frequently enough. The reason for this would appear to be that the rāṣṭra was just another name for the āhāra as under the Scythians, as, for instance, the Sātavāhani rattha or rāṣṭra is referred to as Sātavāhani-hāra (āhāra).[4] The word āhāra, which till about the sixth century of the Christian era was used in Surāṣṭra in the form āhāraṇi, probably denoted a collectorate. It is a derivation from the root *hr* with *ā*, meaning to bring or to fetch. We have also a key to its meaning in the Mauryan term ' Samahartā ' (collector),[5] which is derived from the same root as ' saṁ ' added to ' ā '.

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1 Dikshitar, *The Mauryan Polity*, p. 70.

2 *Arthaśāstra*, II, i, 46.

3 e.g., the Goverdhana-āhāra (present Nāsik) was governed by Amātya Viṣṇupālita and Mamala-āhāra by Amātya Gupta.

4 Raychaudhari, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

5 Dikshitar, *op. et loc. cit.*

At the āhāra headquarters may have been stationed among others the following officers: the adhikāraṇika, the daṇḍapāśika and the sthānādhikaraṇa. The daṇḍapāśika was a prominent officer in the Gupta period, while the other two are known to have existed before the advent of the Maitraka rule.[1] The daṇḍapāśika was apparently a head police officer under whom chaurodharāṇikas, the vartamāpalas, the pratisārakas and other subordinate police officials exercised their functions. The Sthānādhikaraṇas, to all appearances, corresponded to the present-day thāṇādars, and were entrusted with magisterial as with police functions. Even now in Kāṭhiāwāḍ and in the Rājputāna states these functions are found to have been conducted by the same officer. The adhikāraṇika was the chief judicial magistrate of the āhāra or rāṣṭra.

The pathakas, the next administrative divisions, were to be found not only in Surāṣṭra but also in Ānarta. The grants of the Gurjara kings of Nāndod and of the Rāṣṭrakūtas show that they were to be found in Lāṭadeśa as well. The village Paṭanaka, we are told,[2] lay at a distance of about 38 miles from the Kālāpaka headquarters of the Pathaka.[3] This appears to correspond with the distance between their modern representatives, Padana and Kālāwād, and if our surmise is correct, it follows that the pathaka extended over a large area of at least 400 square miles. In all, we find three pathakas recorded as being in Surāṣṭra and seven in the Kheṭaka-āhāra.[4] The term pathaka itself appears to have been uncommon in Surāṣṭra, where we find the sthali mentioned more frequently. It was possibly first used to denote a region through which a big road (path) passed.

The bhūmi is mentioned only in one grant,[5] which refers to the village Paṅgulapallika in the Ghṛtālayabhūmi in the Śivabhāgapura viṣaya. It is not mentioned in the records of any other dynasty. However, the Maitraka records refer to it as a main sub-division of the viṣaya like the pathaka and possibly it may have been equivalent to the latter.

The Bāntia grant refers to a village in the Uttarapaṭṭa of the Kauṇḍinyapura viṣaya,[6] and a second Maitraka grant mentions a village in the Dakṣina paṭṭa of the Śivabhāgapura-viṣaya.[7] Clearly, therefore, the paṭṭa was a main sub-division of the viṣaya and was to be found in Surāṣṭra and Anarta as well. The Khoh grant of king Hastin shows that it was to be found also in

[1] *Op. cit.*, *E. I.*, VIII, p. 46.
[2] Cf. Chapter on Geography, Part III.
[3] Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 76.
[4] Cf. Chapter on Geography, Part III.
[5] Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.;* Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*
[6] Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, (N. S.) III, p. 184; *E. I.*, XXI, p. 179.
[7] Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, I, p. 86.

central India.[1] From the context of these grants it appears that a viṣaya was generally divided into northern and the southern Paṭṭas like a province in our own days. The word 'paṭṭa' itself seems to have a close affinity with 'paṭṭi' or 'paṭṭika' meaning 'a strip of land'. Paṭṭa may also be connected with 'paṭaka' which usually means a splitter or divider. The term 'paṭṭa' may, therefore, be interpreted to mean a sub-division of a viṣaya. The names and designations of officers who were placed in charge of the pathaka, the bhūmi and the paṭṭa have not come down to us.

Coming now to the sthali, a comparative study of the grants shows that the term was used in Surāṣṭra only. In all, names of about eighteen sthalis are found to have been recorded in Surāṣṭradeśa.[2] A Maitraka grant of v.s. 290 also makes it evident that the sthalis mentioned in it were not far distant from each other.[3] The headquarters Bilvakhāta, Jhari and Vaṭapallikā lay at a distance of about forty miles from each other. Accordingly sthalis included in this region may have covered an area of about 100 square miles. As the word sthali means a natural spot of ground, it must have been originally used to designate a natural division. It may probably have been under the direct jurisdiction of the sthānādhikāraṇika, as a 'ṣṭhali' and 'ṣṭhāna' bear a close similarity in sense and sound to each other.

Next, we come to the draṅga or town. This was one of the more important smaller units of administration as suggested by the office of draṅgika in whose charge it was placed. It also included a number of villages in its jurisdiction; for we see three grants of the Maitraka kings refer to villages belonging to the Maṇḍali-draṅga.[4] Generally a draṅga was styled pura, puri, paṭṭana, nagara and so forth. The office of Draṅgika is peculiar to the Maitraka regime and is not to be found either under the Guptas or the remoter predecessors of the Maitrakas.

The term peṭha has so far been found occurring in one grant only,[5] which refers to Vaṭagrāma in the Dipāṇaka petta in the Bilvakhāta sthali. The conclusion is that a peṭha was larger than a grāma but smaller than a sthali. Peṭhas were also to be found in central India as it is evident from the Khoh grant of king Saṁkṣobha[6] and the Khoh grant of Sarvanātha.[7] As suggested

[1] Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, (21), p. 96.

[2] Cf. Chapter on Geography, Part IV.

[3] Fleet, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 187.

[4] Bühler, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 174; Gadre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 85; Gadre, *op. cit.* (*S. A. O. C.*), VII, p. 659.

[5] Fleet, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 187.

[6] Fleet, *op. cit.*, XX, No. 25.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 31.

before, the word may " be traced to the root of Karṇāṭaka influence, for even now in Kannada, the word pethe means a market town, a place of sale, or long street of shops in a town."[1]

The grāma or the village was the smallest administrative unit of the Maitrakas of Valabhī.[2] It provided an excellent example of local self-government in ancient India, which has persisted down to our own times in the village panchayat. It was known, however, even in the Vedic age.[3] Kautilya refers to several villages repeatedly as grāmas.[4] Other names for this unit were grāmaka,[5] palli,[6] etc.

The grāma was in charge of the grāmakūta. We find this officer mentioned frequently in the grants.[7] In the Gupta records he is known as the grāmika and in the Scythian records[8] as the grāmaṇi,[9] grāmika[10] or grāmabhōjaka.[11] A somewhat similar officer is also found in the Kaḷachuri records,[12] viz., the rāṣṭra-grāma-mahāttara-adhikārika. The contemporary Gurjara records also mention a grāmakūṭa, while in the later records of the western Chālukyas this officer is known as the grāmabhōgika. According to Dr. Kane, the word gavunda for a village headman in Canarese districts is derived from grāmakūta.[13]

The grāmakūta or head of the village was assisted by a mahāttara who was acknowledged by the people and the government as the most experienced and able person in that area. This is inferred from the Valabhī records where the mahāttara is mentioned along with the policemen and soldiers. The mahāttara is mentioned very late in the Maitraka list of officers. In the mediæval period he was regarded no more than a village elder.[14] In the Maitraka records

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1 Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 314; cf. Kittel, *Kanarese-English Dictionary* (Mangalore), 1894, p. 1015.

2 That the Palitānā grant of king Dhruvasena I refers to the Jyeṣthānaka grāma belonging to the Akṣasāraka-prāvesya in the Hastavaprahāraṇi, shows that grāma was the smallest unit of administration, cf. *E. I.*, XVII, pp. 107-8.

3 Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index and Names of Subjects*, I, verse 5, p. 96.

4 *Arthaśāstra*, III, Ch. I, p. 46.

5 Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, (22), p. 103.

6 Dhruva, " Three land grants from Sānkheda," *E. I.*, II, p. 19 ff. According to the *Śukranītisāra* (I, 193), an area of land consisting of half a village was called palli, and half of palli a Kumbha, cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 154.

7 Paithinasi quoted by Aparārka (p. 239) states that " food of a grāmakūta could not be partaken by a Brāhmaṇa," cf. Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 154.

8 Ray, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 463.

9 Luders, " List of Brāhmi Inscriptions," *E. I.*, X, p. 159.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 139.

12 Cf. Sānkalia, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

13 Kane, *op. cit.*, III, p. 154.

14 Whether such a person as the mahāttara was one of the members of the pañca-maṇḍali, the assembly of five persons, it is not possible to infer. The assembly of five persons must have existed as mentioned by the Sānchi stone-inscription of Chandragupta (Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 32) and Bana's *Harṣacharita*, p. 225.

also the designation seems to have been used to denote probably the seniormost man in a village, who was acknowledged, both by the people and the government, as the most experienced and able person in the place. The Gupta records too make mention of an official bearing the same designation. Besides him, it is possible that there was an assembly called sabhā to assist in the work of administration. The duties of this assembly were to look after the sale and purchase of land, the control of the local taxation, the organisation of fairs, etc Members of the sabhā also acted as trustees of the village property. This position of trust was due to the fact that whenever a grant was made, the donor entrusted it to these men.

Then there were the Chauroddhāraṇika[1] who corresponded to our own police officer and whose duty was to apprehend thieves; while the Chāṭa and the Bhaṭa possibly protected the particular area entrusted to them by investigation of crime. The agrahāra or the officer in charge of the agrahāras, though not found in the Maitraka records, is mentioned by Bāṇa.[2] The village had also their record-keeper, the dhruva or grāmakṣapaṭalika.[3] According to Fleet this was the same as the aksapaṭalikā,[4] akṣapaṭalādhikṛta whose literal meaning is an officer appointed to the duty of depositing legal documents.[5]

Another village official who probably assisted the Grāmakūṭa in his duties was the Vartamapāla who was the road watchman. This officer was often mounted on horseback and was stationed in thanas or small roadside sheds.[6]

The pratisāraka was a guard and his duties comprised watching the fields and villages at night time.[7]

The office of Chāṭa seems to have been a peculiar one. Yājñavālkya speaks of him in the company of thieves, etc., " as men who are likely to be injurious to the public."[8] Again, in the Mṛchchhakaṭika a friend of the hero says that " even dogs won't go to a place where the Chāṭas, courtesans, etc., reside."[9] Dr. Bhadkhamkar has suggested that the similarity in sound of the word

1 Fleet, " Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jivitagupta II," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 218.

2 Bāṇa, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 198.

4 Fleet, " Spurious Gaya Copper-plate Inscription of Samudra-Gupta," *C. I. I.*, III, p. 257.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Bühler, " Additional Valabhī Grant," *I. A.*, VII, p. 68.

7 *Ibid.* This officer perhaps connotes a secret police. Literally it means " one who goes again."

8 *Yājñavālkya*, I, 413.

9 *Mṛchchhakatika*, I, Act V, p. 223, line 63. (Bom. San. Series) (The book is attributed to king Śūdraka).

Chāṭa with chatu 'flattery' is so great that one is tempted to translate it as 'a flatterer.'[1] Hence, we may presume that the Chāṭa may have been a sort of policeman whose duty was to guard against flatterers.

But beyond a cursory knowledge that is confined to these facts, it is difficult for us to reconstruct a complete picture of village under the Maitrakas owing to lack of details. Their records, which are our main inspiration, are almost bare, being merely gift deeds.

The Manu Smṛti tells us that it is the duty of the king "to appoint a lord over (each) village, as well as lords of ten villages, lords of twenty, lords of a hundred and lords of a thousand villages."[2] The lords of single villages were expected to report to the lords of ten villages, their immediate superiors, the crimes committed in their respective villages, and in their turn, these heads of ten villages were expected to report to their superiors, the heads of twenty. Each of the officials was to administer the region under him with the assistance of his immediate superior, and at the head of the entire structure was the king.[3] Each received a salary according to his status. If he was in charge of a group of ten he could get one *kula*, that is, as much land as would suffice to maintain one family; if he was at the head of a group of twenty he could get five times as much; while the superintendent of a group of hundred, and of a group of a thousand villages could get the entire revenue of a village and a town respectively, as remuneration.[4] Further, each town had its own superintendent of affairs. His work was to visit by turns all the officials under him, and to superintend their work in the districts through his agents.[5] The Maitraka system in all probability conformed to this model.

Several scholars have referred to some more administrative units of the Valabhī kings such as the prāvesya, the prāpa, the bheda and the maṇḍali.[6] Dr. Sukthankar derives the words pravesya and prāpiya from prāvesa and prāpa respectively, and he tries to interpret them as territorial divisions.[7] But Dr. Sten Konow has taken both these words as synonymous and interpreted them in the ordinary sense as meaning that "which is entered from,"

1 Bhadkhamkar, *op. cit.*, XI, pp. 175-177. The offices of Chāṭa and bhāta were considered to be one, for a long time, but Dr. Bhadkhamkar has now rightly separated them and has mentioned their respective duties.

2 *Manu*, p. 234.

3 *Ibid.*, VII, 116-117.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 235.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 135.

6 The term maṇḍali is traced to the expression 'sopokedraka-maṇḍalyām' in a Maitraka grant (Diskalkar, *op. cit.*, N. S. I, p. 17 ff.); however, it is found to be a wrong reading for the expression 'sodakena kamaṇḍaluna' which also occurs in another grant of the same dynasty (Bühler, *op. cit.*, VII, p. 67 ff.).

7 Sukthankar, *op. cit.*, XVII, p. 106 ff.

i.e., which borders on.[1] Another grant refers to Pippalaruñkhari as lying on the western border of Anumañji,[2] while another still refers to Samipadravātaka[3] as Pippalarukhari-prāvesya and to pippalaruñkhari as Anumañji-prāvesya. From this it is clear that the term prāvesya does not denote an administrative unit, but has got the same sense as implied in the word 'ante', i.e., 'on the border of.' Similarly, the word 'prapiya' which is generally construed with 'sthali' must be interpreted to convey the ordinary sense 'to be arrived at from', i.e., 'lying in the vicinity of', as the roots 'viś' with 'pra' and 'ap' with 'pra' have only a very minute difference in their meanings. Hence both the words must be taken to mean 'on the border of', just as samipa,[4] and pratyāsanna,[5] which mean, 'in the vicinity of'. Further, the word 'bheda' occurs only in one grant which refers to a place named Bhaṭārkabheda as marking the southern boundary of a plot of land.[6] Its exact meaning cannot be made out from the context which, however, makes it clear that the word denotes some small spot and not a territorial division. Thus it may be concluded that the Valabhī kingdom comprised the units mentioned above to which may be added rāṣṭra and deśa which were used to designate the entire province of Surāṣṭra.

A word may now be said about the fiscal administration of the Maitrakas. It is well known that in ancient times when religion held complete sway over the minds of men, every item of taxation which the king might levy was fixed by divine dispensation as revealed through the Smṛtis. The copper-plate grants of the Maitraka kings furnish us with several interesting details of their fiscal administration. As most of these grants record gifts of land, we are in a position to study the various proprietory rights allowed to the donees, the various systems of land tenure in vogue at the time, and the amount of revenue assessed on these lands. Agriculture being the main avocation of the people, revenue from land holdings must have been one of the most important sources of income to the state. The chief of these land taxes as we find them mentioned in the Valabhī records were the udraṅga,[7] the uparikara,[8] the dhānya,[9] the bhōga,[10] the bhāga,[11] the hiraṇya,[12] and the viṣṭi (forced labour).[13]

1 Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 110 ff.
2 Bühler, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 105.
3 *Ibid.*, p. 174; Barnett, *op. cit.*, XIII, p. 234.
4 Acharya, *op. cit.* (N. S.), I, p. 67; Mandlik, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 335 ff.
5 Gadre, *op. cit.*, III, p. 82; Acharya, *op. cit.*, p. 135.
6 Fleet, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 187.
7 *Ibid.*, III, p. 166 ff.
8 *Ibid.*
9 *Ibid.*
10 *Ibid.*
11 *Ibid.*
12 *Ibid.*
13 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

The terms 'udraṅga' and 'uparikara' are explained in various ways. Right to collections from both these taxes were assigned to the recipients of the religious gifts. The term udraṅga has been equated by Dr. Bühler to the Marāṭhī word udhar (in the gross).[1] This suggestion is supported by the Sāsvatakōśa in which the words udraṅga and udhar are mentioned as being equivalents.[2] Udranga may then be taken to denote the revenue imposed on the permanent tenants, who had to pay the total revenue of the village in gross.[3] It must probably have been levied on those who were granted land with a permanent proprietory right to it. The 'uparika' tax, on the other hand, seems to have been levied on cultivators who had no proprietory rights in the soil, as may be gathered from Dr. Fleet's interpretation of the term.[4] It is also interpreted to mean a tax (kara) imposed on those who are above the right of proprietorship.[5] Evidently it was a tax contrary to the udraṅga. Thus the land tax paid by the proprietors was known as udraṅga, while that paid by the tenants of the soil was known as uparikara.

The tax levied on the produce of the land, whether paid by the proprietors or by the tenants, was commonly known as the bhāga. The word denotes the fixed royal share of land produce and generally this share was one-sixth of the total.[6] The Maitraka rulers who were described as having been true followers of the Smṛtis[7] must have been very careful regarding the collection of this tax, for the Manusmṛti lays down one-sixth of the total as the maximum that may be collected, while one-eighth and even one-twelfth are recommended to the king.[8] We know from the Maitraka records that king Dharasena IV claims to have reduced the usual rate of tenure,[9] but unfortunately, the inscriptions do not give us any figures. The bhāga was a due (ādeya), and it was taken either in cash or kind. The term dhānyādeya (literally meaning corn) found in the inscriptions, denotes dues paid in kind, while hiraṇyādeya (meaning gold) denotes dues paid in cash. Bhōga[10] seems to have been a petty tax payable in form of daily presents in kind, such as fruits, flowers, vegetables, grass, etc.[11] An officer called the Bhōgadhāraṇika or bōgika was in charge of the

[1] Bühler, *op. cit.*, XII, p. 189.

[2] *Sasvatakōśa*, XXIX, p. 260.

[3] Ghosal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 210.

[4] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 96, n. 6.

[5] Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

[6] Dikshitar, *Hindu Administrative Institutions*, p. 163.

[7] Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

[8] *Manu*, VII, 130; the *Arthaśāstra* advocates 25 per cent. of the total revenue as a bhāga to be collected by the state, cf. V, Ch. 2.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Fleet, (*op. cit.*, III, p. 254, n. 1) has this term as an ordinary word meaning enjoyment (of tax), but as given in the *Manu Smṛti* and the *Arthaśāstra*, it must have been used as a fiscal term. Cf. *Manu*, VII, 5; *Arthaśāstra*, II, VI, p. 58.

[11] Cf. *Nārāyaṇa's Commentary on Manu Smṛti*, VIII, 5.

collection of this tax. We may, therefore, conclude that the term bhāga and bhoga covered all kinds of land revenue.

Another tax called the viṣṭi or forced labour has been referred to in most of the records of the period. It was the tax for the poor. For the Hindu polity had laid down the proposition that every citizen ought to pay something by way of taxation to the state in return for the protection that he gets, however poor he may be. Taxation whether in cash or kind was both impractical and cruel in case of the poor class. It was, therefore, that the state was allowed to levy a tax in form of labour from such people like artisans, labourers, etc., who were made to work for one or two days in a month for the state. It was not possible for the state to collect this tax in central treasury, and therefore it was realised partly during the tour of the king and the officers of the central government, and partly through routine work like cleaning the villages, and government granary.[1]

Another important source of state revenue was the sulka or the tolls. The existence of this tax is inferred from the name of the officer śulkika who must have been in charge of its collection.[2] The rate at which these tolls were collected is not mentioned in any of the records. The Maitraka records allude to two more similar taxes, viz., the bhūta and vāṭa. Although the significance of these terms cannot be precisely explained, it is possible that the term bhūta meant 'what was produced in the land',[3] and that 'vāṭa' denoted 'what was procured from outside'.[4] Further, we find the term 'prātyaya' in the expression 'sabhūta-vāṭa-pratyaya'[5] which may be explained on the analogy of 'ādeya' found in the expression 'sa-dhānya-hiraṇya-dēya'[6] to mean 'dues'. The vāṭa possibly consisted of octroi duties levied on articles imported into the country. But it is not clear on what products the bhūta tax was levied. It does not appear to have been mentioned as a tax on the produce of the soil, which came under the bhāga. Probably it was a tax levied on all products other than those yielded from the soil. The vartam, of which the vartamānapāla of the Valabhī records,[7] seems to have been in charge was another tax of a similar nature. The term 'vartam' itself is found in the Arthaśāstra where it is referred to as a kind of road cess.[8]

Lastly, we have one more source of state revenue, as gathered from the records, known as the daṇḍa or the fine.[9] The officer Dasaparāradhika was

1 Kane, *op. et loc. cit.*
2 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*
3 Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūtas and their Times*, p. 229.
4 The term 'va' means to invite, to procure, etc.
5 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 93.
6 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 93.
7 *Ibid.*
8 *Arthaśāstra*, II, 21.
9 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 837-88.

appointed to collect the fines imposed on persons found guilty of any of the ten offences. These ten offences, as Dr. Fleet has suggested, were probably the ten sins named in the Dharmaśāstras.[1] Of these (i) there are three of the body, hiṁsa, steya and the paradāropasevā, (ii) four are of speech, anṛta, paruṣa, asambaddha-prelapa, (iii) and the last three according to the same work, are of the mind, paradravyēṣu-abhidāna, aniṣṭa-chintana and vitatha-bhimves.[2]

There might, of course, have been other miscellaneous sources of income for the state such as the spoils of war,[3] emergency taxation, tributes from feudatories and so on. For, though they are not mentioned anywhere in the records of the Maitraka kings, they may easily be inferred from eulogies of the kings.[4] There are also the names of a few fiscal officials mentioned in the grants who must have been concerned in such additional items of taxation. There was the anutapannadānasaṁgrahaka who was in charge of collecting from farmers the long due share of the state, i.e., the collection of arrears of the state revenue. There was the dhruva or dhruvadhikarṇa whose business was to superintend the collection of the grain produce and to make sure that the collectors do not collect more than the proper share of the state.

The land revenue must have implied an elaborate system of land tenure with precise measurements of plots over which the state levied the tax. We know that the grants give the exact extent of the plots of land with their four boundaries (aghatanani) specifically mentioned. For instance, in the Vaḷā grant of Dhruvasena II a plot of land is described as " the (third) plot lies on the north boundary and measures ten pādavartas of land; to its east (lies) the field tilled by Ādityadatta; to the south, the field tilled by Saṅgamaḍinna, to the west, the field tilled by Dāsaka, and to the north the field tilled by Dāsaka."[5] Thus the precise description of the plot or well was given, as in our own times. In every case a plot of land must have been described in the records by their limits bounded by another plot of land, a well, a road, a border of a particular village, a river, a pond, a tree and so forth, thus showing that the Valabhī kingdom possessed an elaborate and efficient system of land survey and measurement. In the measurement of land some kind of unit must have been used. The standard unit of the Maitrakas as seen from their records, was the pādavarta.[6] As to the extent of this unit the copper-plate grants tell us that a plot of land given in gift measured from ten to seven hundred

[1] The Daṇḍa must have included Rajasevakānām Vasatidaṇḍa, Prayanadaṇḍa, chatu-bhaṭa prāvesa daṇḍa, etc. Kane, *op. et loc. cit.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Kielhorn, *op. et loc. cit.;* Diskalkar, *op. et loc. cit.*

[4] Acharya, *op. cit.*, No. 93; Bühler, *op. cit.*, XI, p. 335.

[5] Acharya, *op. cit.* (N. S.), I, p. 72; Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

[6] Bloch, *op. cit.* (1895), p. 382.

pādāvartas[1]; whereas a vāpi or a step-well measured from twelve[2] to fifty-five[3] pādāvartas. This shows that the pādāvarta cannot be as small a unit as a square foot, as explained in Monier Williams' dictionary. For, according to this author, a plot of ten pādāvartas measures only about ten square feet in all, which would be too small an area to be recorded as a gift on a copper-plate grant. On the other hand, Dr. Fleet's suggestion seems to be nearer the mark. According to him, a plot of one hundred pādāvartas may measure a hundred feet each way, in other words, ten thousand square feet.[4]

The pādāvarta seems to have been the standard unit of measurement. However, there were others in different parts of the country. One such unit was the bhakti. It must have been the standard in Mālavā; for we find among the Maitraka records two known grants of land in Mālavā measured in bhaktis.[5] In the absence of proper evidence the extent of a bhakti cannot be ascertained. It seems, however, that it may not have been much larger or smaller than a square foot. We next find a unit known as vrihipiṭakas (baskets of vrihi). This unit was probably used for measuring land in the Kheṭaka district. From the term Vrihipiṭaka it is evident that one unit represented a plot of land on which one standard sized basketful of corn could be sown. The plots recorded to have been gifted measured one, two or even four vrihipiṭakas.[6] That the vrihipiṭaka was in use in Kheṭaka is further indicated by the expression 'Kheṭakāmānena'.[7] In the Bharukachchha district also the unit of land measurement was vrihipiṭaka, which, however, was probably not the same as the Kheṭaka standard; but as we find no specific reference given of the Bharukachchha vrihipiṭaka, it must have been of the general standard in use elsewhere among the neighbouring districts. Thus the exact extent of one vrihipiṭaka plot of land cannot be made out from the extant evidence.

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1 Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.;* Sukthankar, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 256.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Bhandarkar, *P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55; Diskalkar, *op. cit.* (N. S.), I, p. 59.

4 Fleet, *op. cit.*, III, p. 170.

5 Gadre, *op. et loc. cit.*

6 Sukthankar, *op. et loc. cit.;* Acharya, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 Bühler, *op. et loc. cit.*

CHAPTER VII

EPIGRAPHY

The chief epigraphical sources for the history of the Maitrakas of Valabhī are their copper-plate grants. These grants are records of their donations made to the Brahmanas and to the Vihāras. The donations usually consist of villages, fields, vāpis, kūpas and vāpikas. In one case, however, it is a rūpaka[1] or a silver-coin to be given daily from the state treasury, a gift which may be termed a *nibandha*.[2]

The grants are inscribed on the copper-plates, as prescribed by the Dharmaśāstras.[3] For Yājñavālkya recommends that a gift should be recorded " on a piece of cloth, or a copper-plate[4] marked on the top with his (donor's) seal; having written (the names of) his own ancestors, as well as of himself, the lord of the earth should cause to be recorded a fixed edict containing the extent of the corrody and the description of the gift (of land with its) boundary, bearing his autograph and date."[5]

In his celebrated commentary on Yājñavālkya's institutes called the Mitakṣara, Vijnāneśvara explains these points and further adds that the piece of cloth should be of cotton and if copper be preferred copper-plates or tablets of copper should be utilized for the purpose. The ancestors of the donor, at least his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, should be mentioned along with their good qualities such as bravery and learning. Similarly, the donor's own virtues and achievements should be described. The name of the donee should be mentioned along with extent of the corrody and the description of the boundary of the gift. In case of a gift of a field the area of the same should also be given. The grant should bear the autograph of the sovereign to show that it is approved by him. It should be dated and the royal seal should be marked on the top of the grant itself. The significance of this process was that the future kings on seeing the document should protect and respect (the holder of) the gift. This royal edict, according to the same work, is to be written by the officer in charge of peace and war, i.e., Saṇdhi-vigra-ha-kāri.[6]

Aparārka, another commentator on Yājñavālkya, adds to the above details, a number of imprecatory verses from Bṛhaspati and Vyāsa.[7] According

1 Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 8; Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 67.

2 Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 860.

3 *Ibid.*

4 The fact that copper was selected of all the metals was possibly due to its durability. It has also been recommended by the *Skanda Purāṇa*, III, 34, 67.

5 *Yājñavālkya*, I, 319-320, p. 401.

6 *Mitakṣara on Yājñavālkya Smṛti*, I, pp. 401-2.

7 About 43 verses are quoted by Dr. Kane (cf. *History of Dharmaśāstra*, II, pp. 1271-1277) from the original works like the Purāṇas, Smṛtis and others.

to him, the edict should be addressed (after mentioning the place, country, town and the ancestors of the donor), to all Brāhmaṇas and other gentry and officials, the kinsmen of the donor, as well as Kāyasthas, ambassadors, physicians, Mahāttras, Medas down to Chaṇḍālas.[1]

A further improvement on the model is found in Bṛhaspati, who adds to the above prescriptions the formula that the grant should last till " the Sun and Moon endure," and that it was not to be resumed or taken back and was to be made free from all future taxes to heirs of the grantee from generation to generation, and that it should state that heaven is to be the reward of the donor for his benefaction, and that the result of the resumption of the gift would be hell for 60,000 years to the resumer.[2]

The technical term used for the copper-plate grants was ' tāmra-śāsana ' or ' Dāna-patra ',[3] terms which are actually used in the Maitraka records. Thus the former indicates the material used for inscribing a grant, while the latter indicates that it is a plate of grant. With the single exception of the earliest known grant of the Valabhī kings which consists of only one plate,[4] all the other Valabhī grants are written on two plates linked by two rings. These plates are incised on one side only. The edges of these plates are slightly raised in the form of a rim so that the incised side may not be damaged by contact with the other plate.

Of the two rings which are used to fasten the plates, one is plain and circular in shape with its ends either riveted or joined into a knot. It is about 1½ inches in diameter and the wire used for the ring measures ⅛ inch to ⅓ inch in thickness. It is approximately 5 inches in length. The other ring consists of a longer piece and it forms an elliptical loop. The wire used for this ring is of the same thickness as the plain ring; but it is about 8 inches in length. The size of the elliptical loops varies from 2 inches to 2½ inches in height. Its ends are joined to the socket of the royal seal which is generally made of bronze. This metal was preferred to copper probably because on it a better effect of the seal could be discerned. The seal has the device of a seated bull with the legend " Śri Bhaṭṭākah " inscribed below it. The total weight of the two rings together with the seal varied from 7½ ozs. to 12½ ozs. in the earlier grants which increased upto 1¾ lbs. in the later ones.[5]

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1 *Aparārka*, pp. 579-580 as quoted by the translator of the *Yājñavālkya Smṛti*, pp. 402-403; Kane, *op. cit.*, II, p. 861.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 16, 58.

4 *Ibid.*, No. 16; Barnett, *op. et loc. cit.* In this grant the usual passage of the genealogy of the donor is not recorded.

5 Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 73; Bühler, *op. cit.*, XV, p. 335.

The number of lines written on the copper-plates varies from 24 to 78 and the size of the letters also differs from time to time. The average size of a letter is about ¼ inch.

A marked variation may be noted in the size of the plates of these grants issued not only by different rulers, but also by one and the same ruler. This variation was the result of description (large in case of a field than that of a village) of the property donated. The earlier rulers utilised smaller plates than the later to incise the rather lengthy description of many more predecessors. The different sizes that have come down to us vary from 10×6 inches to about 18×12 inches. In the case of earlier records, i.e., from that of the Valabhī Saṁvat 200 to 300, the average size is 12×8 inches. For the next forty years, i.e., from Valabhī Saṁvat 300 onwards, it is about 13×10 inches. After that period larger plates of about 16×12 inches are used by the rulers down to the last known record. The weight of these plates differs according to their size and generally it is found between two to four pounds.

The inscription itself in these Valabhī records begins with the auspicious formula 'Svasti',[1] which is preceded by the symbol 'ōm' in some cases.[2] Then the name of the place of issue is recorded with the name of the dynasty of the donor, viz., the Maitraka. Next comes the names of kings (donor's ancestors) with the description of their virtues and achievements. It begins with the founder Bhaṭārka and goes down to the donor himself. In later grants, however, i.e., from that of the eighth king Śīlāditya I, to be precise, the genealogy is curtailed by dropping the four sons of the founder Bhaṭārka, and the next ruler Guhasena is mentioned immediately after Bhaṭārka. This omission was presumably made to save space on the copper-plates. These later kings who had to include the descriptions of many more predecessors naturally used larger plates, and the size of the letters was comparatively smaller than that of the earlier grants.

The body of the grant contains the announcement to the officers concerned,[3] that the main object of the grant is to secure religious merit for the donor and his ancestors. The gift is then described,[4] and the right of

[1] Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, Nos. 71, 77.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nos. 50, 51, 69, 83.

[3] In the earlier grants of the Maitrakas down to the period of king Śīlāditya I designations of the officers concerned such as ayuktaka, vinayuktaka, draṅgika, mahātara, bhōgika, chorodhāraṇika, rajathāniya, kumāra-amātya, chāṭa, bhaṭa and others are recorded; while in the grants from the time of king Śīlāditya I onward these officers are mentioned in a general way such as 'Sarvaneva Samagnapayastyastu' (cf. Acharya, *op. cit.*, Nos. 73, line 40; 80, line 46), i.e., Be it known to you all. This change also was presumably made to save space in the plates.

[4] In case of gifts of villages, names of the same are given along with the territorial division to which they belonged, while fields are expressly recorded with their area and boundaries.

taxation, etc., are reserved along with the exemption from duties.[1] A description of the donee follows and in the case of a Brāhmaṇa, the details, such as his place of residence, gōtra, the vedic branch and so forth, are given along with his full name. The purpose of the grant, for example, performing *Yajñas*, etc., is recorded thereafter. The grant is proclaimed with libation of water and according to the rules of the *Bhūmichchhidra*. After this the type of gift (whether it is a *dharmādeya*, *devādeya* or *brahmādeya*) is declared.

Then comes the appeal of the king to his successors and officers to the effect that they should preserve and maintain the donee's rights as specified in the record till the Sun and the Moon endure, i.e., for ever. This appeal is supplemented by some well-known imprecatory and benedictory verses which specify the sin which they would incur, if the grants were confiscated and the merit that would accrue for the grantor.

The final details are the names of the dūtaka, i.e., the executive officer, and of the lekhaka, i.e., the writer of the grant. The year, month, fortnight and the day (tithi) are recorded, and the charter ends with the king's autograph which is expressed as ' Svahastōmama ' in some grants, while in others the king's name and titles are also included, e.g., ' Svahastō mama Mahārājaśri Dharasenasye.'[2]

From the foregoing description of the Maitraka records it will be realised that these inscriptions embody all the prescriptions of the Mitakṣara with regard to the drafting of the gift deeds. Now the Mitakṣara was a work written some time between A.D. 1100 and 1200[3] while the Maitraka records were compiled during the period A.D. 525[4] to 766. It would follow from this that Vijñāneśvara, in giving his model in the Mitakṣara, only codified the existing practice. It may here be observed that the drafts of the gift deeds in the inscriptions of the neighbouring contemporaries of the Maitrakas like the Gurjaras, the Kaḷachuris and the Puṣpabhūtis are nearly identical in form while those of the Chālukyas differ only in the order of arrangement and with regards to the curse.

Comparing the formula of the gift deeds in the Maitraka records with those of the earlier dynasties, two stages may be traced in the evolution of the former, represented respectively by the Traikuṭaka and the Vākātaka records. The Traikuṭaka records contain the donor's name, the extent of the corrody

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1 The rights reserved and the exemption from the duties enumerated in the grants are discussed at length in the chapter on Administration.

2 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 167, line 36.

3 Kane, *op. cit.*, I, p. 238.

4 In the earliest known Maitraka grant of the Val. Sam. 183 (i.e., A.D. 502) some items like the rights reserved for the donee and description of virtues of the donor's ancestors are omitted. Cf. Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, No. 16.

and description of the land donated together with its boundaries, date and place of issue and the permanent character of the grant; but fail to mention the ancestor of the donors, the purpose of the grant, its announcement with libation of water, the type of donation as to whether it was a *dharmādeya* or *devādeya* and the king's signature. Moreover, they are addressed to the people of the place only and not to the officers, and differ as to the rights reserved. In the arrangement of the details, however, there is perfect agreement between the records of the Traikuṭakas on the one hand and those of the Maitrakas and of the Vākāṭakas on the other. The Vākāṭaka records contain all the details[1] found in the Maitraka inscriptions, albeit in a slightly varied form to suit the purposes of a different dynasty, except the autograph of the monarch and the name of the executive officer. The Guptas, however, while giving the details included in the Maitraka grants, follow a totally different arrangement, and in this the Chālukyas are closer to the Maitraka model than to the Gupta.[2]

The writers of the Valabhī records were indeed learned scholars, as would appear from the beauty of their style in describing the merits and achievements of different rulers of the Maitraka dynasty. The grand imagery of the writers is expressed in high-flown Sanskṛt, and at times ideas are borrowed from Kālidāsa's works, as, for instance, it is stated that the " word rājan was literally true in the case of Guhasena[3] in as much as he pleased the hearts of his subjects." It will be seen that the expression is borrowed from the Raghuvaṁśa where Kālidāsa uses the same expression with reference to Raghu. The Maitraka records are excellent specimens of the Gaṇḍā-style—abounding in vigour. The very first expression of these records ' Prasabha-praṇatamitrāṇām Maitrakāṇām,'[4] (The Maitrakas whose enemies were forcibly bowed down) is a good example of æsthetic ecstasy. Then again we come across the frequent use of long compounds, of about ten to fifteen words, at times, e.g., " pratapopanta - dāna - mān - arjjav - oparjjit - anurāgādanurakta - maula - bhṛtah - mitra-sreni-balaavapta-rajya-sriyali."[5] (Who acquired the goddess of royalty through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants and friends, who had been brought under subjection by (his) splendour, and had acquired by gifts and honourable treatment and straightforwardness attached (to him) by affection.")[6] The next characteristic of the language is the recurring charm of

[1] Fleet, *op. cit.*, No. 55, p. 236.

[2] In the light of what has been mentioned above, it will be agreed that the statement of Dr. P. V. Kane that " the thousands of copper-plate grants and inscriptions on stone published so far show that these directions contained in Yāj., Br. and Vyāsa have been followed to the letter from at least the fifth century onwards," (cf. *History of Dharmasastra* Vol. II, Pt. II, p. 861) is not strictly accurate.

[3] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 166, line 12.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 165, line 1; Banerjee, " The Jesar Plates of Śilāditya III," *E. I.*, XXI, p. 210, line 1.

[5] Acharya, *op. cit.*, I, p. 53; line 3; Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 1, 2.

[6] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 180, line 2.

the assonance, as may be seen in the above expression. Alliterations like 'kalā-kalāpah-kāntiman'[1] and 'sakala Kali Kālaṅkah'[2] are very often found in these records. We also come across puns on words like Laxmi (used as wealth, and wife of lord Visnu), Sudarśana (used in the sense of 'good to look at' and the well-known Sudarśana of Viṣṇu). Figures of speech like simile (upamā), metaphor (rūpaka), and poetical fancy (utprekṣā) are of common occurrence. Kings are compared to deities like Viṣṇu, Krṣṇa, Dharmarāja, Kārtikeya, and others. Besides these similes, Manu, Agastya, Kalpataru and lion are also employed. The expression "Khadgā dvitiya-ba-hur"[3] (whose sword was verily a second arm to him) is a striking example of metaphor. Then again an example of personification and epigram is well illustrated in the expression 'prakrtivi kramopi-Karunāmṛduhṛdayah'[4] (who by nature was valour personified but had a heart which was soft and full of compassion). Imagery is well displayed in phrases like 'tat—pāda—nakha—mayukha—samtāna—nirvaritta —jāhnavi—jalangha—prakshalit āsesha—kalmshah' (whose sins were all washed away by the torrent of the waters of (the river) Jāhnavi spread out by the diffusion (of the rays) of the nails of his feet).[5]

A few Maitraka epigraphs are also inscribed on stone and clay-die. But these are in a fragmentary condition. One of the stone inscriptions is at Bamkodi in the present Vaḷā state,[6] and measures 7 inches × 18 inches. It is on a polished surface of a slab, and is neatly engraved in straight lines, like other stone inscriptions from Vaḷā.[7] Unfortunately, no information could be gathered from this or the ten other finds from Vaḷā, the inscriptions yielding disjointed words like 'Tathāgata' or names of persons. Among the clay seals and dice that have been discovered some bear the well-known Buddhist formula:

"Ye Dhamma hetu Pra
bhava hetum teṣām tathā
Gatō hṛvadateṣām cha
Yo nirodha yevam vādi
mahāsramaṇah."

These seals are obviously religious signets of the Buddhists. They are circular and tablet-like in shape, and are about the size of an eight-anna piece. Besides, a specimen of a non-sectarian seal has also been found. It is of black clay measuring 4×2½ inches. It contains five incomplete lines written in Sanskṛt,

[1] Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 177, line 21.

[2] Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 165, line 9.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 168, line 10.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 174, lines, 26-27.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 181, line 7.

[6] *Bha. Pra and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 30.

[7] Diskalkar, "Ten Fragments of Stone Inscriptions and Clay Seal from Vaḷā," *A. B. O. R. I.*, XX, p. 1 ff.

the meaning of which is unintelligible. There is, lastly, a clay die bearing the name 'Śri Śīlāditya' found at the Gōhilwād timbo near Amreli. It is $\frac{1}{8}$ inch in size and is incised in reverse letters.

It would, indeed, have been interesting to trace the evolution of the script of the Maitraka inscriptions from its prototype, if material for all the intervening stages of its development was available. As it is, however, we are in possession of material which provides only four stages in this evolution. At Girnar, where on the same rock inscriptions of Aśōka, Rudradaman and Skandagupta are inscribed, we have an indication of the development which this script underwent, the form this script took, in the Maurya, Śaka and Gupta ages, while the fourth stage is that which we come across in the inscriptions of the Traikuṭakas. Now it is a fact that the Aśōkan edicts while they were expressed in the language spoken at Pāṭaliputra, the capital, were in the different parts of the empire actually inscribed in the local varieties of the Brāhmi alphabet.[1] It would follow from this (until, of course, a script anterior to that of the edicts is discovered) that the Maitraka alphabet is a lineal descendent of the western variety of the Maurya alphabet.

The four stages of its development down to the Maitraka times are shown in the attached chart:[2]

In the following analytical list of the Maitraka records will be found some useful details which have not been included elsewhere.

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[1] E.g., the form of alphabet of the Siddhapura edicts has been termed Drāvidi by Bühler on account of its certain peculiarities (cf. Bühler, *Indian Paleography*, (*I. A.*, XXXIII) p. 34). Bühler, however, classes the Girnār script together with that of the Siddhapura edicts, which as Dr. Sānkalia has pointed out, is a mistake. " On comparing the chief characteristics, in which the Girnar alphabet differs from that of the northern variety, with those of the recently found edict at Maski and Brahmagiri, it appears that, barring a few points in which the Siddhapura and Girnār show close resemblance, the Girnār script forms a class by itself, say a sub-group of the southern variety." (Sankalia, *op. cit.*, p. 171.)

[2] According to Ojha's *Bharatiya Prāchina Lipi Mala*, Pls. Nos. I, II, VIII, XVI, XVII, XXXVII, XXXIX; Mookerjee, Aśōka, p. 246, Pl. XV.

	अ (A)	आ (Ā)	इ (I)	उ (U)	ए (E)	ओ (O)	अं (AM)	क (KA)	ख (KHA)	ग (GA)	घ (GHA)	च (CHA)	छ (CHHA)	ज (JA)	झ (JHA)	ञ (ÑA)	ट (ṬA)	ठ (ṬHA)	ड (ḌA)	ढ (ḌHA)
Mauryan. 3rd Cent. B.C.																				
Kṣtrapas 2nd Cent. A.D.																				
Traikutaka 4th Cent. A.D.																				
Gupta 4th & 5th Cent. A.D.																				
Maitraka 6th Cent. A.D.																				

	ण (ṆA)	त (TA)	थ (THA)	द (DA)	ध (DHA)	न (NA)	प (PA)	फ (PHA)	ब (BA)	भ (BHA)	म (MA)	य (YA)	र (RA)	ल (LA)	व (VA)	स (SA)	श (ŚA)	ष (ṢA)	ह (HA)	ळ (VADA)
Mauryan 3rd Cent. B.C.																				
Kṣtrapas 2nd Cent. A.D.																				
Traikutaka 4th Cent. A.D.																				
Gupta 4th & 5th Cent. A.D.																				
Maitraka 6th Cent. A.D.																				

क (KA)	का (KĀ)	कि (KI)	की (KĪ)	कु (KU)	कू (KŪ)	के (KE)	कै (KAI)	को (KO)	कौ (KAU)	कं (KAM)	कः (KAH)

FROM VALABHI INSCRIPTIONS

SHOWING THE STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BRAHMI SCRIPT

No.	Find-spot	Size	Reference	Preserved at	Corresponding No. in the list of Bhandarkar, *E.I.*, XX	Sankalia, *Arch. Guj.*	Acharya, *H.I.G.*
		Inches					
1	Bhāmodra (Bhāvnagar State, Kāṭhiāwād).	13 × 5¾	Jackson, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XX, p. 1 ff; Barnet, *E.I.*, XVI, p. 18 ff.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1289	59	16
2	Pālitāṇā (Kāṭhiāwād) ..	9⅞ × 7	Sten Konow, *E.I.*, XI, p. 106 ff; Jackson, *I.A.*, XXXIX, p. 129.	....	1293	60	17
3	Cambay (Bom. Pre.) ..	11¼ × 6½	Sukthankar, *E.I.*, XVII, p. 110 ff; Banerjee, *P.R.A.S.W.C.*, 1917-18, p. 38; 1919-20, p. 56.	P.W.M.	1294	61	18
4	Pālitāṇā	..	Shastri, *Bhārtiya Vidya*, VI; (1945), p. 248.	With Sārābhai Nabab (Ahmedabad).	..	..	..
5	Bhavnagar	13 × 8	Bühler, *I.A.*, V, p. 205.	....	1297	62	19
6	Pālitāṇā (Kāṭhiāwād) ..	11½ × 6¾	Sukthankar, *E.I.*, XVII, p. 107.	P.W.M.	1295	63	20
7	Gaṇēśgadh (Amreli Dist., Kāṭhiāwād).	11 × 7⅝	Hultzsch, *E.I.*, III, p. 320.	Baroda Museum.	1296	64	21
8	Bhavnagar	11 × 6½	Sukthankar, *E.I.*, XV, p. 256.	P.W.M.	1299	65	22
9	Pālitāṇā	10½ × 6⅝	Sten Konow, *E.I.*, p. 110; Jackson, *I.A.*, XXXIX, p. 130.	....	1300	66	23
10	(*a*) Pālitāṇā	10¾ × 6½	Sukthankar, *E.I.*, XVII, p. 109.	P.W.M.	1591	68	24
	(*b*) Jyavja (Gōhitwād-Kāṭhiawāḍ).		Diskalkar, *E.I.*, XIX, p. 216; Puratattva.	W. Mus. 1301 Rājkot.	2039	67	
11	....	10½ × 6½	G. V. Acharya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.) I, p. 66.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1302	69	25
12	Pālitāṇā (Kāṭhiāwar) ..	10¼ × 6⅞	Sten Konow, *E.I.*, XI, p. 113.	....	1303	70, 71	26
13	W. (Kāṭhiawāḍ)	11 × 8	Bühler, *I.A.*, IV, p. 105.	....	1304	72	27
14	....	Broken.	Bloch, *J.R.A.S.*, 1895, p. 382.	....	1305	73	28

No.	Find-spot	Size	Reference	Preserved at	Corresponding No. in the list of Bhandarkar, *E.I.*, XX	Sankalia, *Arch. Guj.*	Acharya, *H.I.G.*
		Inches					
15	Vāvadia Jogia (Junāgaḍh, Kāṭhiawāḍ).	10½ × 7½	V. H. Acharya, *V.O.J.*, VII, p. 297.	....	1306	74	29
16	Vaḷā (Kāṭhiāwaḍ) ..	Broken.	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 17 ff.	Vaḷā Museum	1308	75	30
17	.. .. ..	11-9/10 × 7-7/10	Bühler, *I.A.*, VII, p. 67 ff.	....	1311	78	33
18*b*	Vaḷā	12⅝ × 8⅞	Bühler, *I.A.*, IV, p. 174; Barnett, *E.I.*, XIII, p. 239.	B. Mus.	{ 1312 1313	79 80 }	34
19	Bhāvngar (*a*) only note ..	14 × 9	Bühler, *I.A.*, V, p. 207.	....	1315	82	36
20	Jhār (Amroli Dist. Kathi.)	11½ × 8	Fleet, *I.A.*, XV, p. 187; Bhavnagar Ins., p. 31.	....	1316	85	38
21	Bhādva (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) ..	10¾ × 8¾	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), IV, p. 38.	....	1317	87	40
22	Pālitāṇā	11⅛ × 7⅞	Hultzsch, *E.I.*, XI, p. 81.	....	1318	89	41
23	Maliya (Junāgaḍh) ..	13⅜ × 7¾	Fleet, *I.A.*, XIII, p. 180; *C.I.I.*, III, p. 165 ff.	....	1319	90	42
24	Sorath (Jun. Kāṭhiāwāḍ).	12½ × 4½	Bühler, *I.A.*, VII, p. 68.	....	1320	91	43
25	....	11⅛ × 7¼	Wathen, *J.A.S.B.*, IV, p. 479; Fleet, *I.A.*, VIII, p. 301 ff.	Bom. As. Soc.	1321	{ 84 88 }	44A
26	Kāṭpur (Bha. St. Kāṭhi.) ..	10 × 7	Bhavnagar Ins., p. 35.	Bha. Mus.	1322	86	39
27	Bāntia (?) (Bha. St. Mus.)	12 × 6	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), III, p. 184; *E.I.*, XXI, p. 179 ff.	....	1324	92	44
28	Vaḷā	9½ × 6½	Bühler, *I.A.*, VI, p. 11 ff.	....	1326	93	45
29	....	Broken.	Acharya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 67.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1327	94	46
30	Aliṇā (Kaira)	12-4/5 × 6½	Bühler, *I.A.*, VII, pp. 71 ff.	....	1328	95	47
31	....	..	Gadre, *I.H.Q.*, XV, p. 281.	W. M. Raj.	..	..	..

32	(*a*) Pālitāṇā	11½ × 11¾	Sten Konow, *E.I.*, XI, p. 116.	....	1334	99	51
	(*b*) Vaḷā		Bhandarkar, *I.A.*, I, p. 46.	....	1330	100	
33	Vaḷā	11 7/16 × 8½	Mandlik, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, p. 359; Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XIV, p. 329 ff.	Bom. As. Soc.	1331	101	52
34	Navalkhi (Jun. State)	10-4/5 × 9	Bhandarkar, *E.I.*, XI, p. 178.	B. M. Junāgaḍh.	1332	102	53
35	(*b*) Vala	10½ × 7½	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 27.	....	1333	103	54
36	....	12¾ × 8¾	Gadre, *J.U.B.*, III, p. 80; G. V. Acharya, *H.I.G.* (Note), p. 125.	....	..	105	56
37	Vaḷā	11¼ × 8¾	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 29.	Vaḷā Mus.	1335	104	55
38	....	12 × 9½	Gadre, *J.U.B.*, III, p. 82; G. V. Acharya, *H.I.Guj.*, I, 135; *B.P.*, 1935, p. 408.	....	..	107	59
39	Dhank	12 × 9½	Bühler, *I.A.*, IX, p. 238.	W. M. Raj.	1338	106	57
40	....	..	G. V. Acharya, *H.I.Guj.*, I, p. 124; Gadre, *J.U.B.*, III, p. 85; *B.P.*, 1935, p. 408 ff.	....	..	108	58
41	....	..	Dhruva, *I.C.O.*, VIII, p. 125.	....	..	..	..
42	....	11½ × 8¾	Banerjee, *E.I.*, XXI, p. 116.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1337	109, 111	59A
43	Virdi (Lathi State, Kāṭhiāwaḍ).	12 × 8½	Gadre, *S.A.O.C.*, VII, p. 659; Kaumudi, 1936, p. 39.	....	..	..	..
44	Amreli (Kathi.)	13¼ × 8⅞	Gadre, *I.I.B.S.*, p. 7 ff.	....	..	..	..
45	Bhavanagar	12½ × 8½	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), III, p. 185.	....	1340	112	61
46	Bōtād	10⅝ × 12¼	Bühler, *I.A.*, VI, p. 13 ff.	Bh. Mus.	1341	114	63
47	....	10⅝ × 10½	G. V. Acharya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 20.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1342	115	64
48	Gorās (Bhav. State, Kāṭhiāwāḍ).	15½ × 11¼	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 53.	Br. Mus.	1343	116	65

No.	Find-spot	Size	Reference	Preserved at	Corresponding No. in the list of Bhandarkar, *E.I.*, XX	Sankalia, *Arch. Guj.*	Acharya, *H.I.G.*
		Inches					
49	....	14 × 9¼	Gadre, *J.U.B.*, III, p. 88; *B.P.*, 1935, p. 405; Oza, *His. Ins. Guj.*, I, 156.	....	..	117	66
50	Bhāmōdra (Bhav. State, Kāṭhiāwaḍ).	13 × 9¾	Jackson, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XX, p. 8.	....	1345	118	67
51	Nogāwa (Ratlam State. C. Ind.).	9 × 11¼	Hultzsch, *E.I.*, VIII, p. 190 ff.	....	1346	119	68
52	Do. ..	9 × 11⅛	Hultzsch, *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1902-3, II, p. 235; *E.I.*, VIII, p. 196.	....	1347	120	69
53	(*b*) Bhāvnagar	12¼ × 10¾	Bhandarkar, *I.A.*, I, 45, p. 45.	....	1348	121	70
54	....	..	Bhandarkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 72 ff; *I.A.*, I, p. 14 ff.	....	1349	122	71
55	Aliṇā (Kaira)	14½ × 11	Bühler, *I.A.*, VII, p. 73.	....	1350	123	72
56	Kaira	12¼ × 10¼	Bühler, *I.A.*, XV, p. 339.	....	1351	124	73
57	....	..	Bhagwanlal, *B.G.*, I, p. 92.	Morbi State.	..	..	..
58	Kapaḍvanaj	13 × 10¾	Hultzsch, *E.I.*, I, p. 86.	....	1352	125	74
59	Aliṇā	15 × 12	Bühler, *I.A.*, VII, p. 76.	....	1353	127	76
60	(*b*) Vaḷā	..	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 38.	Vaḷā Mus.	1354	{ 129 130 }	78
61	....	13¾ × 11	G. V. Acharya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 72.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1355	131	79
62	....	16 × 12½	G. V. Acharya, *Ibid*, I, 73.	Do.	1356	132	80
63	Kaira	..	Durus, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, p. 968.	....	1361	137	85
64	....	..	Bhandarkar, *P.R.A.S.W.C.*, 1915-16, p. 55.	Br. Mus. (Bhāvnagar)	1357	133	81
65	Lusadi (Bhāvnagar) ..	15½ × 13⅝	V. G. Oza Schtscherbatskoi, *E.I.*, IV, p. 76.	V. G. Mus.	1358	134	82

66	Lusadi	$12\frac{1}{8} \times 13\frac{5}{8}$	Bühler, *I.A.*, XI, p. 366.	Barton Mus. (Bhāvnagar).	1359	135	83
67	(*a*) ..	$18 \times 12\frac{1}{4}$	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 59;	Barton Mus. (Bhavnagar).	1360	136	84
	(*b*) ..		Diskalkar, *Ibid.*	Watson Mus. (Rājkot).			
68	Jēsar	$14\frac{1}{4} \times 12$	Benerjee, *E.I.*, XXII, p. 114 ff.	Barton Museum (Bhavnagar).	1368	145	92
69	Anastu (Baroda State) ..	..	Gadre, Buddhiprakas, 194, p. 111 ff; *I.I.B.S.*, p. 16 ff.	Bar. Mus.	..	..	..
70	Bhāvnagar	16×13	Bühler, *I.A.*, V, 209.	....	1362	128 140	77
71	Dēvāli	$14\frac{1}{2} \times 12$	V. G. Oza, *V.O.J.*, I, 253.	Bhav. Mus.	1363	141	88
72	....	..	Kielhorn, *E.I.*, V, App. 69, notes.	....	1364	142	89
73	....	$13\frac{1}{2} \times 12$	G. V. Acharya, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, p. 75.	P.W.M. (Bombay).	1365	143	90
74	....	..	Keilhorn, *E.I.*, V, App. 69.	....	1366	144	91
75	Dhānk (Gondal Plate) ..	..	Mandlik, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, 335 ff.	....	1370	147	93
76	Do. ..	..	Do.	....	1369	146	94
77	Luṇāvada (Rēvākanṭha Agency).	$11 \times 17\frac{3}{4}$	Bühler, *I.A.*, VI, 17 ff.	....	1374	148	95
78	Aliṇā (Kaira Dist.) ..	$14\frac{5}{8} \times 13\frac{1}{8}$	Bühler, *I.A.*, VII, 79 ff; Fleet, *C.I.I.*, III, 173 ff.	R. A. Soc. (London).	1375	149 150	96
	(Undated Plates)						
79	....	$12\frac{1}{4} \times 7$	Magha Sarupa Vatsa, *E.I.*, XIX, 302.	....	..	..	26A
80	(*a*) Pālitāṇā (Bhai St.) ..	$11 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	Sten Konow, *E.I.*, XI, 115.	....	1592	157	..
81	(*a*) ..	(?)	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, 19.	Vaḷā Mus.	1599	76	31
82	(*a*) ..	$11 \times 6\frac{1}{4}$	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 20 f.	Do.	..	77	32
83	Vaḷā (Kāṭhiāwāḍ) ..	$12 \times 8\frac{1}{4}$	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 22 ff.	Do.	1594	96	48
84	(*a*) Vaḷā (,,) ..	9×12	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 25 f.	Do.	1595	97	49

No.	Find-spot	Size	Reference	Preserved at	Corresponding No. in the list of Bhandarkar, *E.I.*, XX	Sankalia, *Arch. Guj.*	Acharya, *H.I.G.*
		Inches					
85	(*a*) Piṭhādiā (Jitpur, Kāṭhiāwāḍ).	10¼ × 8	Gadre, *J.U.B.*, N., p. 1.	W. M., Rajkot.	..	..	..
86	Vaḷā (Kāṭhiāwāḍ)..	11 × 8½	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, 33 ff.	Vaḷā Mus.	1596	110	60
87	(*a*) Vaḷā (,,)..	8⅞ × 11¼	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, p. 43 ff.	Do.	..	151	97
88	(*a*) Gōpnāth (,,)..	14 × 10	Hultzsch, *I.A.*, XII, 148 ff.	....	1597	113	62
89	(*a*) Vaḷa (,,)..	8¾ × 13	Diskalkar, *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (N.S.), I, 45 ff.	Vaḷā Mus.	..	152	98
90	(*b*) Do. (,,)..	12 × 8	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 36 ff.	Do.	1598	126	75
91	(*a*) Do. ..	15 × 12½	G. V. Acharya, *Ibid.*, I, 72.	Do.	..	{138 156}	86
92	(*b*) Do. ..	15 × 10½	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 40 ff.	Do.	1600	136	87
93	(*a*) Undāvi (Vaḷā State)..	14½ × 11	Gadre, *J.U.B.*, IV, 5.	Do.	..	..	..
94	(*a*) Vaḷā (Kathiawad) ..	14½ × 12¼	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, 47 ff.	Do.	..	153	99
95 Piece	(*a*) Do. ..	..	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 48 ff.	Do.	..	154	100
96 Piece	(*a*) Do. ..	..	Diskalkar, *Ibid.*, I, 49.	Do.	..	155	101
			Spurious Copper-plate Inscriptions				
97	....	..	Bühler, *I.A.*, X, p. 283.	Ben. As. S.	1078	58	50
98	(*b*) Bansoḍā State ..	10¼ × 6¼	Dvivedi, *Puratana Dakṣina Gujarat*, p. 194.	....	..	..	..
			Stone Inscriptions				
99	Baṅkodi (Jam. State, Kathi.).	..	*Bha. Ins.*, p. 30.	Bh. Mus.	1593	83	37
100	....	7 × 4½	Diskalkar, *A.B.O.R.I.*, XX, p. 3 ff.	W. M. Raj.	..	..	..
101	....	4 × 3	Do.	Do.	..	..	..

102	....	3½ × 3¼	Diskalkar, *A.B.O.R.I.*, XX, p. 3 ff.	W. M. Raj.	..	..	.
103	....	2½ × 2½	Do.	Do.	..	..	..
104	....	4¼ × 4	Do.	Do.	..	..	..
105	....	6 × 6½	Do.	Do.	..	..	..
106	....	3½ × 3	Do.	Do.	..	..	..
107	....	2½ × 2½	Do.	Do.	..	..	..
108	....	4½ × 3	Do.	Ṭhākor of Vaḷā.	..	..	..
109	....	2½ × 3½	Do.	Do.	..	..	..

No.	Donor	Date	Issued from	Donee	Object	Dutaka	Lekhaka
1	Droṇasiṁha	.. Srāvaṇa Su. 15. 183.	Valabhī.	A temple of a goddess.	A village.	....	Kumāril Paṭika son of Ṣaṣṭhi-datta.
2	Dhruvasēna I	.. Bhādrapad Su. 5. 206.	Do.	Brāhmaṇas.	3 F, well.	Mammaka.	Kikkaka.
3	Do.	.. Aśvin, Su. 3. 206.	....	Do.	....	Do.	Do.
4	Do.	.. Kārtika, Su. 3. 207.	Valabhī.	Do.	F, vāpi.	Do.	Do.
5	Do.	.. Kārtika, Su. 7. 207.	Do.	Do.	A well, a field.	Do.	Do.
6	Do.	.. Vaiśākha, Ba. 5. 207.	Do.	Do.	F.	Do.	Do.
7	Do.	.. Vaiśākha, Ba. 15. 207.	Do.	Do.	F; 2 S-wells.	Do.	Do.
8	Do.	.. Śrāvaṇa, Ba. 13. 210.	....	Do.	F and a well.	Do.	Do.
9	Do.	.. Śrāvaṇa, Su. 15. 210.	Valabhī.	Do.	F-two pieces; One well.	Do.	Do.
10	Do.	.. Bhādrapad, Ba. 9. 210	Do.	Do.	F.	Rudradhar.	Do.
11	Do.	.. Bhādrapada Ba. 13. 210.	Do.	Do.	F.	Do.	Do.
12	Do.	.. Āśvin Ba. 5. 210.	Do.	Do.	F; S-well.	Do.	Do.
13	Do.	.. Māgha, ba. 3. 216.	Camp at Khudda-vetiya.	Vihara.	Village.	....	Do.
14	Do.	.. Aśvin ba. 13. 217.	Camp at —(?).	Do.	Do.	(Rajasthaniya) Bhaṭṭi.	Do.
15	Do.	.. Āśvin ba. 1. 221	Valabhī.	Brāhmaṇas.	2 pieces of F; 6 S-wells.	(Supakarapti) Bhaṭṭi.	Do.
16	Do.	.. Kārtika, Su. 15. 226.	Do.	Do.	F.	....	Bhadra.
17	Guhasēna	.. Srā. Su. 240.	....	Vihāra	Village.	....	Viṣṇusimha.
18	Do.	.. Māgha. ba. 246.	....	Do.	4 villages.	Oral order.	Skandhabhuṭṭa.
19	Do.	.. Āśvin. ba. 14.	....	Do.	....	Do.	Do.
20	Dharasēna II	.. Chaitra. ba. 5. 252.	Valabhī.	Brāhmaṇa.	Village, 3 F, S-well.	Chirbira	Do.
21	Do.	.. Vaiśākha, ba. 15. 252.	Do.	Do.	Village.	Do.	Do.

[1] F denotes a piece of field; S-well a step-well.

22	Dharasēna II	.. Vaiśākha, ba. 15. 252.	Valabhī	Brāhmaṇas.	4F; 2 S-well.	Chirbira	Skandhabhuṭṭa.
23	Do.	.. Do.	Do.	Brāhmaṇa.	7F, 2, S-well.	Do.	Do.
24	Do.	.. Do.	Do.	Do.	S-well, 3 F.	Do.	Do.
25	Do.	.. Do.	Do.	Do.	4 F.	Do.	Do.
26	Do.	.. Vaiśākha, ba. 15* 252	Camp at Bhadra-paṭanaka.	Do.	F.	Do.	Do.
27	Do.	.. Vaiśākha, ba. 15. 254. (Solar Eclipse)	Valabhī.	Do.	Village.	Do.	Do.
28	Do.	.. Chaitra, Va. 2. 269.	Camp at Bhadra-paṭanaka.	Vihāra.	2 villages.	Sāmanta Śīladitya.	Do.
29	Do.	.. Māgha Su. 10. 270.	....	Do.	Village.	Do.	Do.
30	Do.	.. Fālguṇa ba. 10. 270.	Camp at Bhadra-paṭanaka.	Brāhmaṇa.	Do.	Do.	Do.
31	Do.	.. Bhā. ba. 2. 270.	Bhadrapaṭanaka.	Brā. (2).	Do.	Sam. Śīlāditya.	Do.
32	Śīlāditya I	.. Vaiśākha, ba. 6. 286.	Valabhī.	Vihāra.	2 F.	....	....
33	Do.	.. Jeṣṭha. ba. 6. 286.	Do.	Do.	3 F, 2 S-wells, 4 gardens.	Adityayasas.	Vatrabhaṭṭi.
34	Do.	.. Asāḍh. ba. 8. 286.	Do.	44 Brāhmaṇas.	Village.	Do.	Do.
35	Do.	.. Srā. ba. 7. 286.	....	Vihāra.	Do.	Do.	Do.
36	Do.	.. Kārtika ba. 7. 287.	Valabhī.	Do.	Do.	Do.	(S.D.) do.
37	Do.	.. Mār. ba. 7. 287.	Do.	Brāhmaṇa.	F, a S-well.	Do.	Do.
38	Do.	.. Bhā. ba. 7. 290.	Bhadrēśvara outside the gate of Valabhī.	Vihāra.	Village.	Kharagraha.	Do.
39	Do.	.. Bhā. ba. 8. 290.	Homba outside the gate of Valabhī.	Temple of Siva	2 F and a S-well.	Do.	Do.
40	Do.	.. Bhā. ba. 10. 290.	....	Brāhmaṇas.	Village.	Do.	Do.
41	Do.	 291	....	....	....	....	....
42	Do.	.. Chaitra, Su. 14. 292.	Camp at Devisaras.	Temple.	F and Bhaiksaka.	Do.	Do.

* "Bahu 5" should be read as "Ba 15."

No.	Donor	Date	Issued from	Donee	Object	Dutaka	Lekhaka
43	Kharagraha I	Vai. Su. 12. 297.	Ujjayani.	Brāhmaṇa.	F.	Dharasēna.	(S. D.) Vatrabhaṭṭi
44	Do.	Śrā. su. 10. 297.	Valabhī.	Do.	2 S-wells.	Do.	Do.
45	Dharasēna III	Māgha, su. 7. 304.	Kheṭaka.	Do.	3 F, and a S-well.	Śilāditya.	Do.
46	Dhruvasēna II	Aśvin. ba. 15. 310.	Valabhī.	Vihāra.	F.	Do.	Vatrabhaṭṭi.
47	Do.	Jeṣṭha. su. 4. 312.	Do.	Brāhmaṇa.	F.	Do.	Do.
48	Do.	Śrā. Su. 14. 313.	Do.	Brāhmaṇas.	2 F	Do.	Do.
49	Do.	Jyēṣṭha. su. 7. 319.	(v.v.) (?).	Vihāra.	Village.	Do.	(?) Skandabhaṭa.
50	Do.	Asāḍha. su. 320.	Valabhī.	A temple.	One 'Rūpaka' loin per day, Guda.	Kharagraha.	Skandbhaṭṭa.
51	Do.	Bhā. ba. 5. 320.	Do.	Brāhmaṇas.	F.	Do.	Do.
52	Do.	Chai. ba. 3. 321.	Camp at Vandita-palli.	Brāhmaṇa.	F.	Do.	Do.
53	Dharasēna IV	Māgha. ba. 5. 326.	....	Vihāra.	Village.	Dhruvasēna.	Do.
54	Do.	Asādha. su. 10. 326.	Valabhī.	Brāhmaṇa.	3 F, 1 S-well, 6 pattakas.	Do.	Do.
55	Do.	Mār. su. 3. 330.	Camp at Bharu-kachha.	Do.	Village.	Bhūpā.	Do.
56	Do.	Dvi. Mar. Su. 2. 330.	Do.	Do.	2 F and 1 bhṛṣṭi.	Do.	Do.
57	Dhruvasēna III	332.	....	....	....	....	....
58	Do.	Māgha. Su. 9. 334.	Camp at Sirisimmi-nika.	Brāhmaṇa.	....	Pramatṛ Srinōga.	Aṇahilā.
59	Kharagraha I	Asāḍha ba. 5. 337.	Camp at Pulendaka	Do.	Village.	Do.	Do.
60	Śilāditya	Dvi. Asāḍha ba. 343.	....	Vihāra.	Do.	....	....
61	Do.	346.	Camp at	Brāhmaṇa.	2 F, 2 S-well.	Dhruvasēna.	Do.
62	Do.	Pau. su. 7. 346.	....	Brāhmaṇas.	F, S-well.	Do.	Do.
63	Do.	Vaiśākha ba. 1. 346.	....	Brāhmaṇa.	F.	Do.	Do.
64	Do.	Vai. ba. 15. 347.	Pundhihalhaka.	Do.	F, S-well.	Do.	Do.
65	Do.	Fāl. ba. 3. 3.	Camp at Khēṭaka.	Brāhmaṇas.	3 F, 1 S-well.	Do.	Do.
66	Do.	Bhā. su. 1. 3.	Camp at Megha-vana.	Do.	F.	Do.	Do.

67	Śilāditya ..	.. Jēṣṭha-7. 3.	Camp at Pichchhi-paji.	Vihāra.	Village.	(Pr.) Kharagraha	Aṇahilā.
68	Śilāditya III	.. Dvi.-Pau. ba. 4. 357.	Mēghāvana (v.a.).	Brāhmaṇa.	1 F (its piece), 1 S-well.	Do.	(S.D.Ms.S.) Mammaka.
69	Do.	.. Māgha Su. 7.	Dhananda (v.a.).	Do.	1 F (in e.p.).	(Pr.) Dhruvasēna	Aṇahila.
70	Do.	.. Srā. ba. 9. 3.	Camp at Tank Bāläditya.	Do.	Village.	Do.	Haragaṇa.
71	Śilāditya ..	.. Jēṣṭha ba. 5. 3.	Camp at Purnika-grāma.	Do.	....	Do.	Do.
72	Do. ..	.. Mār. Su. 15. 3	Valabhī.	....	....	Do.	....
73	Do. ..	.. Mār. Su. 6. 381.	....	Brāhmaṇa.	....	Dharasēna.	Āditya.
74	Do. ..	.. Mār. Su. 6. 382.	Valabhī.	....	....	Do.	....
75	Do. ..	.. Māgha. ba. 12. 403.	Camp at Khetaka.	Brāhmaṇa.	....	Śilāditya.	Gilaka.
76	Do. ..	.. Vai. Su. 13. 403.	Do.	Do.	....	Do.	Do.
77	Do. ..	.. Kār. Su. 5. 441.	Gōḍraka.	Do.	....	Ganjāśāti Śrijajju.	....
78	Do. ..	.. Jēṣṭha Su. 5. 447.	Ānandapura.	Do.	Village.	Siddhasēna.	Gadaha.
79	Dhruvasēna I	.. ....	Valabhī.	2 Brāhmaṇas.	Do.	Mammaka.	Kikkaka.
80	Do.	.. ....	....	....	....	....	....
81	Do.	.. ....	....	....	....	....	....
82	Do.	. ....	....	....	....	....	....
83	Dharasēna II	.. ....	....	Vihāra.	F.	Śilāditya.	Skandabhaṭa.
84	Do.	.. ....	Valabhī.	....	....	....	....
85	Do.	.. ....	Do.	....	....	....	....
86	Śilāditya I	.. ....	....	Vihāra.	2 villages.	Kharagraha.	....
87	Do.	.. ....	Valabhī.	....	....	....	....
88	....	....	Do.	....	....	....	....
89	....	....	Camp at	....	....	....	....
90	Dhruvasēna III	.. ....	....	Vihāra.	Village.	....	....
91	Śilāditya ..	.. Vaiśākha Su. 1. 365.	....	....	....	....	....
92	Do. ..	.. ....	....	....	....	....	....

No.	Donor	Date	Issued from	Donee	Object	Dutaka	Lekhaka
93	Śīlāditya IV or V..	....	Savandika (v.a.).	....	....	....	....
94	....	....	Camp at Pulindaka.	....	....	....	....
95	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
96	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
97	Dharasēna II ..	Vai. Su. 15. S' 400.	Valabhī.	Brāhmaṇa.	Village.	....	Deva.
98	Do. ..	—— S' 400.	Do.	Do.	Do.	....	Reva.

OBJECTS DONATED

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
1	Village ..	.. Trisangamaka	....	....	In Hastavapra āharani.
2	(*a*) A field ..	.. ....	140 pād.	....	Madkaṇa in H.V.A.
	(*b*) A step-well	.. ....	16 pād.	....	Do.
	(*a*) A field ..	.. ....	140 pād.	....	Tāpasiya in H.V.A
	(*c*) A field ..	.. ....	100 pād.	....	Tiniśaka (N.E.) in H.V.A.
	(*d*) A step-well	.. ....	....	....	Do
3	....	....	....	S.-w	Maṇḍali in H.V.A.
4	F. Vāpi ..	.. ....	100 pād. 12 pād.	S.-w.	S-W. of Akṣarāraka.
5	(*a*) F ..	.. ....	100 pād.	....	Kikkaṭṭa grāma in H.V.A.
	(*b*) A well ..	.. ....	....	....	Do.
6	(*a*) F ..	.. ....	160 pād.	....	Jyēṣṭhāṇaka (W.) in H.V.A.
7	(*a*) F—4 pieces	.. ....	300 pād.	....	Hariyāṇaka (N.W.) in H.V.A.
	(*b*) F—4 pieces	.. ....	300 pād.	....	Do. (N.E)
	(*c*) S-well ..	.. ....	40 pād.	....	Do. (N.W.)
	(*d*) Do.	.. ....	20 pād.	....	Do.
8	(*a*) F—one ..	.. ....	50 pād.	....	Chedakapadraka (E.) in H.V.A.
	(*b*) A well ..	.. ....	16 pād.	....	Mālākāra (E.) in H.V.A.
9	(*a*) F ..	.. ....	....	....	Bhallara grāma in H.V.A. (54).
	(*b*) A well ..	.. ....	12 pād.	....	Do.
	(*c*) F ..	.. ....	50 pād.	....	Vasukiya (N.).
10	(*a*) F ..	.. ....	100 pād.	....	Bhadreṇikā grām in Surāṣṭra (S.E.)
	(*b*) F ..	.. ....	100 pād.	....	Do.
	(*c*) S-well[1] ..	.. ....	12 pād.	....	Do.

S-well=step-well; pād=pādavarta and F=field.

[1] Vāpibhollara.

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
11	(a) F ..	.. ....	200 pād.	....	Bhadrēṇikā in H.V.A. (S.E. .
12	(a) S-well ..	.. ....	12 pād.	....	Akrolaka (N.).
	(b) F ..	.. ....	30 pād.	....	Do.
13	(a) Village ..	.. Pippalarukhari.	....	....	On the western border of Ānumañji.
14	(a) Village ..	.. Vataprajaka .	....	....	Near (?) Sthala.
15	(a) F ..	.. ....	700 pād.	E. Bhadrēṇika Simha. S. F of Br. Skanda. N. F of Br. Swāmi datta.	Śamīhambara (S.E.).
	(b) F ..	.. ....	100 pād.	E. Bhadrēṇika Siṁha. S. F of Br. Droṇa. W. F of Br. Droṇa.	Śamihambara (E.).
	(c) 5 step-wells	.. ....	Each 16 pād.	....	Do.
	(d) S-well ..	.. ....	16 pād.	....	Sarsvati vaṭa (S.).
16	(a) F ..	.. ....	....	....	....
17	(a) Village ..	.. ....	....	....	....
18	(a) Do. ..	.. Samipadravāṭaka.	....	....	Near Ānumañji and Piṭṭalaruñklari.
	(b) Do. ..	.. Sangāmaṇaka.	....	....	In Mandalidraṅga.
	(c) Do. ..	.. Naddīya.	....	....	In Kheṭaka āhāra.
	(d) Do. ..	.. Chossari.	....	....	Do.
19	....	....	....	....	In Bahumula.
20	(a) Village ..	.. Pēṭavata.	....	....	In Dipāṇaka peṭha in Vilvakhābha Sthali.
	(b) F ..	.. ....	100 pād.	S. Bhaṭṭarkka Bhēda. W. Ant-hill.[1] E. Amarilikā Road.	Vilvakhābha (N.).
	(c) S-well ..	.. ....	25 pād.	....	Vilvakhābha (8th direction possibly N.E.).
	(d) F ..	.. ....	160 pād.	N. Main Road. W. F of Jhanjhaka. E. Dadhikupaka sima. S. F of Khaṇḍaka.[2]	In Vellapadraka grāma. In Jharisthali (E.).

No.	Item		Name	Measure	Boundary	Location
20	(e)	F	....	25 pād.	....	In Vellapadraka grāma. In Jharisthaḷi (S.).
21	(a)	Village	Iśikaṇaka.	....	....	In Ambarēṇu-sthali.
22	(a)	F	....	180 pād.	....	In Natyētakagrāma in Jambuvāṇaka sthali (N.E.).
					E. Daraka's field. S. Āditya's field.	In Akalika grāma.
	(b)	F	....	120 pād.	....	Do. (N.W.).
	(c)	S-well	Nimbavāpi.	32 pād.	....	In Akalika grāma.
	(d)	F	....	130 pād.	Quupper—part the Khandabhedaka lake.	In Devarakṣita pataka in Nimbakūpa Sthali.
	(e)	F	....	100 pād.	....	In Chitraka Sthalya in Kadambapadraka sthali (N.).
	(f)	A S-well	Avatāra.	....	....	In Kadambapadra (E.).
23	(a)	F	....	100 pād.	....	In Antaratrā.
	(b)	F	....	15 pād.	E. F of Virasēna dantika.	In Śivapadrka in Antaratrā.
	(c)	F	....	120 pād.	....	Do. (W.).
	(d)	F	....	100 pād.	....	Do. (E.).
	(e)	F	....	90 pād.	....	Dōmbhigrāma (E.).
	(g)	F	....	100 pād.	The top of the village.	Vajragrāma (W.).
	(h)	A S-well	....	28 pād.	....	Do.
	(i)	F	....	100 pād.	....	Bhumbhusapadraka.
	(j)	S-well	....	....	....	Do.
24	(a)	F	....	200 pād.	....	Suryadāsagrāma (S.E.).
	(b)	S-well	....	....	....	Do.
	(c)	F	....	220 pād.	....	Jotipatrakagrāma (N.E.).
	(d)	F	....	35 pād.	....	Desarudaka (N.E.).

1 Valmika.

2 **Residence of Bramara Kulya grāma.**

No.		Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
25	(a)	F	....	50 pād.	....	Madasaras (S.).
	(b)	F	....	60 pād.	....	Vīrputra (N.).
	(c)	F	....	50 pād.	....	Pṛihaputra (W.).
	(d)	F	....	80 pād.	....	Do.
26	(a)	F	....	60 pād.	....	In Damaripaṭaka in Vaṭapalika sthali (E.).
27	(a)	Village ..	.. Bhaṭṭakapadra.	....	....	In North Paṭṭa, in Kaundinyapura Viṣaya.
28	(a)	Village ..	.. Mahēśvaradaseṇaka.	....	....	In H.V.A.
	(b)	Do. ..	.. Dēvabhadripallikā.	....	....	In Dharakhēta sthali.
29	(a)	Do. ..	.. Uttapalaka.	....	....	Near Sudattabhaṭṭānaka in Suraṣṭra.
30	(a)	Do. ..	.. Asilapallikā.	....	....	In Bandarijidri pāthaka in Khetaka āhāra-viṣaya.
31	(a)	Do. ..	.. Thānaka.	....	....	In Thāṇaka Sthala.
32	(a)	F	....	....	....	Rākṣraputra (?) Palatirolahna.
	(b)	F	....	....	....	Udrapadraka.
33	(a)	F	....	....	....	Uchhapadraka in Puṇyānaka Sthali.
	(b)	F	....	....	....	Do.
	(c)	S-well	....	....	....	Kakkijja.
	(d)	S-well	....	....	....	Do.
	(e)	F	....	....	....	Indrāṇipadraka.
	(f)	4 gardens along with wells.	....	....	....	Valabhī.
34	(a)	Village ..	.. Bhonḍānaka.	....	....	Vaṭanagarsthali.
35	(a)	Do.	....	....	....	In——Ka[1] pathaka.
36	(a)	Do. ..	.. Nigguda.	....	....	In Ghāsaraka pathaka.
37	(a)	F	....	120 pād.	E. F of Pippala[2] and F of Karakaka. S. F of Misrana. W. F of Dusaka and F of Mannaka. N. F[3] of Ku Vatsa.	Kālasāmaka (N.E.).

No.		Item	Name	Extent	Boundaries	Location
37	(b)	S-well	Mochanika.	16 pād.	....	Kālasāmaka (N.W.).
38	(a)	Village	Amādāsaputra.	....	....	Near Vātālara in Ghāsarkapathaka
39	(a)	S-well	Yamalavāpi.	25 pād.	E. S-well of the merchant Ghosha. N. S-well of Balabhaṭa. W. S-well of Chandrabhaṭṭa. S. Vaṭapadra.	Vaṭapadra (N.).
	(b)	F	....	150 pād.	N. Road to Bhadraṇaka. E. Vitakhatta. S. Road to Diṇṇānakagrāma. W. Boundary of Baraṭaka.	Do. (W.).
	(c)	F	....	120 pād.	W. S-well of Ādityadēva. S. Kakinnimuvaka's field. N. Road to Bramilanaka grāma. E. Pusmilānakagrāmasima.	Vaṭapadra (S.).
40	(a)	Village	Danturaputra.	....	....	In Mandalidraṅga.
41	(a)		....	....	....	....
42	(a)	F	....	100 pād.	W. of Prabhandata's F. N. of Rudra's F. S. of Baruṭikā daṇḍaka (?). E. Boundary of Goparāvaṭaka.	In Baravanasthali.
	(b)	Two bhaiksaka	....	....	....	Bhadrēṇiyaka (E.).
43	(a)	Vāpi	Chinchanaka.	12 pād.	W. Road to Bhogāditya Chinchanaka. N. Luṣa. E. Ganchhaka. S. Do.	In Maṇḍali Draṅga.

1 Probably Ghāsaraka.

2 Pippala was residing at Puṣyamitra grāma.

3 This field was situated at Choṭṭiyānaka.

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
43	(*b*) F ..	.. ....	38 pād.	W. F of Bhaṭṭi. S. of Madhdha's F. E. Rāhuvaṇaka's F. N. Lūṣa.	In Anumañji sthali.
44	(*a*) Vāpi ..	.. ....	....	E. Yamalavapi. S. Śrāvaka-vāpi. W. of Dūsa-vāpi. N. Bhadra-vāpi.	In Dambhara Padraka in Anumañji sthali.
45	(*a*) F ..	.. ....	100 pād.	S. Road to Grāmagosara. E. Pasana-sthalikamastaka. W. Chutikagrāma siṁha. N. A field of Ku. Charabhaṭaka and Chandrāvaka.	Amākārakupa in H.V.A. in Suraṣṭra (N.E.).
	(*b*) F ..	.. ....	....	N. of Rohidakamala.	In Dabhaka in Kālapaka (N.W.).
	(*c*) F ..	.. ....	....	E. A field of Kapardiyaka. S. A field of Khuduka. W. A field of Naṇṇuvaka. N. Bhadāsaka.	Do.
	(*d*) S-well ..	.. Khajad.	18 pād.	E. of Khajuri-vāpi-prachiha. S. Road to the field of Śossaka. W. Khēlapati (Playground). N. Road to Puraṇakagrāma.	Do. (S.E.).
	(*e*) F ..	.. ....	....	W. Sauviraka Sima. N. Siridraha-vāpi prachiha. E. Temple of Śankārika. S. A field of Khachch haya.	Hastihrdakagrāma in Siravatakat Sthali.
46	(*a*) Village ..	.. Bhasanta.	....	....	In Kālāpathaka in Surāṣtra.

No.	Item	Name	Measure	Boundaries	Location
47	(a) F ..	.. Sarsakēdār.	4 Vrīhipiṭaka[1]	E. Rice field of Ankoli and the old road. S. The road to a ling to Malivāpi and to Bhartrisvaratataka. W. Rice field of Mātanga and Malivāpi and a road to Viravarmaṭaṭāka. N. Viravarmaṭaṭāka, Adityabhaṭa's Bhrasti, Indravarma's bhrasti.	Hastikapallikā in Konakapathaka in Khetakāhara viṣaya (N.W.).
48	(a) F	....	100 pād.	E. Amragartta. S. Do. W. A field of Saṅgha. N. F of Dēvi.	Bahumula grāma in Vaṭapallika sthalı in Surāsṭra (to the S.W.).
	(i) Piece of F ..	....	....	(i) E. Amragartta. S. Amragartta. W. A field of Saṅgha. N. F of Dēvi.	Do. (S.W.).
	(ii) Piece ..	....	....	(ii) S. The boundary of Gōrakēsasa. W. The boundary of Gōrakesa. E. The F of Br. Kumarabhōga. N. F of Buṭṭaka.	Do. (W.).
	(iii) Piece ..	....	....	(iii) E. Gorakṣita F. S. F of Sthavīraka. W. F of Sasthisūra. N. F of Ku. Karhuṇḍaka.	Do. (W.).
	(b) F	....	100 pād.		Do.
	(i) Piece ..	....	....	(i) E. F of Br. Bhava. S. F of the Saṅgha. W. F of Sthavīra. N. F of Ku. Khundaka.	

1 In Kaira system of measuring was not by pād but by basket.

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
48	(b) F (ii) Piece ..	....	....	(ii) E. F of Br. Sthavira. S. F of Kumārabhōga. W. F of Naṇṇa. N. F of Sasthīsūra.	Bahumulagrāma in Vatapallikā sthali in Surāṣṭra.
	(iii) Piece ..	....	....	(iii) E. F of Saṅgha. S. The boundary of Gorakēśa. W. Do. N. F of Kumārabhōga.	
49	(a) Village ..	.. Nāgādiṇṇaṇaka.	....	....	In Rohāṇaka pathaka in Surāṣṭra.
50	(a) Guda ..	.. ....	....	....	Trisaṅgamaka.
	(b) Ṛupaka ..	....	....	....	....
51	(a) F ..	.. ....	100 bhakti[1]	E. Varāhotarugrāma. S. River. W. Paṭṭika of Laxmaṇa. N. Kulindaṇaka grāmaka.	In Navagrāmaka in Uchhamaṇa-bhukti in Mālavaka —(E.).
52	(a) F ..	.. ....	100 bhakti	E. Dhammaṇa haḍḍika grāma-kankata. S. Dēvakulapaṭaka grāma-kankata. W. F of the Mahattara of Viratara Maṇḍali. N. W. Nirguṇḍi pond. N. Vīratara maṇḍali.	In Chandraputrakagrāma in Uchha-maṇa viṣayam Mālavaka (S.).
53	Village ..	.. Yodhāvaka.	....	....	In H.V.A.
54	(a) F ..	.. ....	56 pād.	E. S-well of Vinhala. S. F of Vattaka. W. F of Ku. Vinhala. N. F of Br. Sastribhaun.	(a) In Sarkarajadraka (near Kikka-taputral, in Kalāpake pathaka in Surāṣṭra—(S.).

[1] Unit of measuring land in Malavā.

54	(*b*) S-well	....	16 pād.	E. S-well of Chatra. S. F of Chandra. W. Do. N. F of Mahattura Dasaka.	(*b*) In Kikkataputra in Kalapaka pathaka in Surāṣṭra—(W.).
	(*c*) F	....	28 pād.	E. F of Bavya Sthaṁra. S. F of Ku. Varaha.[1] W. F Bappaṭiyeka. N. F of Bhāgiyaka.	(*c*) In Śarkarapadraka (near Kikkartaputra)—(W.).
	(*d*) F	....	14 pād.	E. F of Bavyasthaviraka. S. F of Ku. Īśvara. W. F of Bappāṭiyaka. N. F of Bārılaka.	(*d*) Do.
	(*e*) 6 paṭṭakas ..	....	6 pād.	E. F of Viñchhiyaka. S. F of Ku. Īśvara. W. F. of Ku. Īśvara. N. Paṭānaka—sıman.	(*e*) Do.
55	A village ..	.. Dēsurakṣitıjja.	....	....	In Simhajallikā pathaka in Kheṭaka āhāra.
56	(*a*) A field	....	2 v.p.	E. Sihamukijja grāma. S. Viśvājulli grāma. W. Samıkedara F of Droṇaka. N. Khaggadi Kedari F of Mahēśvara.	In Vaḍḍasounalika grāma (E.) in Kolamba in Kheṭaka āhāra.
	(*b*) A field ..	.. 'Kōṭalaka.'	2 v.p.	E. 'Ātiramana Kēdāra', Mahattara Gollaka and Kedara of Sabbhilaka. S. Jaiṇṇapalli grāma. W. Guddapalli grāma. N. Ārilakedara Śamikēdāra and ? Valmikas (2 autthill).	In Duhuduhra grāma in Nagaraka pathaka (S.W.).

[1] Resident of Aśvinikā putra.

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
56	(*c*) 1 bhrsta ..	....	....	E. Kapilthondana. S. 'Visanno' Kēdāra. W. Kapitthoudani. N. 2 Mudanis beyond the Brahmadēya F of Br. Vairabhaṭa.	In Duhuduhra grāma in Nagaraka pathaka (E.).
57	....	....	....	....	....
58	A village ..	.. Paṭṭapadraka.	....	....	In the Dakṣiṇā paṭṭa of the Sivabhāgapura viṣaya.
59	A village ..	.. Paṅgulaṭallikā.	....	....	In the Ghṛtālaya bhūmi in the Śivabhāgapura viṣaya.
60	A village ..	.. Śihāṇka (?).	....	....	In Bhavasanka (?) Sthali in Surāṣṭra.
61	(i) A field	....	100 pād.	E. F of Dāsaka. S. Devakula pathaka grāma. W. Devakula Pathaka sima. N. F of Br. Naraṭṭaka.	In Pahmavatika in Kālākṣyetaka in (W.) Surāṣṭra.
	(ii) A S-well ..	....	25	E. F of Br. Gopadinna. S. Bālharaṇaka grāma. W. F of Br. Sarasvati. N. F of Br.——	In Pahmavatīkā in Kālākṣyetaka in Surāṣṭra (W.).
	(iii) S-well	....	— pād.	E. F of Matṛśarma. S. F of Śvara. W. Santaputra grāmasima. N. F of——	In —grāma in H.V.A. (W.).
	(iv) Field	....	100 pād.	E. ? S. Pād. of Umbaka. W. Kheṭakapadraka. N. ?	(S.W.).

62	(i) F (*a*) ..	....	20 pād.	E. F tilled by Ku. Sarmudra. S. F tilled by Damara. W. F tilled by Mahēśvara. N. Śrīṣa s-well.	In Dachchāṇaka in H.V.A. in Surāṣṭra (W.).
	(*b*) ..	....	20 pād.	E. River. S. River. W. Bhatikā grāma. N. River.	Do.
	(*c*) ..	....	10 pād.	E. F tilled by Ādityadatta. S. F tilled by Sangamadinna. W. F tilled by Dasaka. N. F tilled by Dasaka.	(N.).
	(ii) S-well ..	.. Śirīṣa.	25 pād.	E. F tilled by Saundar. S. F tilled by Guhaka. W. F tilled by Mahēśvara. N. F tilled by Sangāmasinna.	(W.).
	(iii) F ..	.. Vaḍa.	50 pād.	E. F of Br. Dattulika. S. Tank. W. F of Dattulika. N. Raja-veta.	In Vatanumaka in Mapudhacheka (W.).
63	(i) F (*a*) ..	....	....	E. Road to Rataniyya grāma. S. Dodhvaka lake. W. Kavitthavaka ganduka road. N. F of Danturā pechaka.	In Deyapālli in Nagaraka Pathaka in Khēṭaka āhāra (S.W.).
	(*b*) ..	....	....	E. Karilvjavaka Gahana road. S. Rohiniyaya-grāma-sima. W. Tapasapallika grama sima. N. F of Ravikonā.	....
	(ii) S-well ..	.. Bhāgisaka.	20 pād.	E. Varahammaṇika-grāma. S. Bṛhat Vāpi. W. F tilled by Labhdarillaka. N. F tilled by Br. Svamika.	In Jambuvānara in Kalāksyōdaka in Surāṣṭra (E.).

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
63	(iii) (*a*) Field ..	....	49 pād.	E. Field of Divyakaṇa. S. F of Gārgara. W. F of Bhimā. N. Rāmaśalika Vāpī.	In Jambuvānara in Kalāksyēdaka in Surāstra (S.W.).
	(*b*) Field ..	....	34 pād.	E. F of Ādityadāsa. S. Loharapadaka-grāma-sima. W. F of Br. Ranpyasarman. N. Field of Gārga.	Do. (S.W.).
64	(i) F	....	100 pād.	....	In Kakkapadra in Kālāpaka-pathaka in Surāṣṭra (W.).
	(*a*) ..	....	(73 pād.)	E. F of Upādhēya. S. Prachchina of three royal sunas. W. F of Bhāsiyaka. N. Dasarikā river.	....
	(*b*) ..	Bappuḍa.	12 pād.	E. F of Br. Ghanchaka. S. F of Taṭṭa. W. F of Bhaṭṭa. N. Rivulet.	(S.W.).
	(*c*) ..	Lusānika.	15 pād.	E. Kannasomaka-grāma sima. S. Prachchitra of Siradandaka vāpī. W. Prachchitra of Dhorika vāpī. N. Rivulet.	(E.).
	(ii) S-well	....	25	E. Ausanika field. S. Prachchitra of Siradandaka vāpi. W. Prachchitrā of Pippala vāpī. N. Top of village.	....
65	(i) S.W.	....	55 pād.	E. Road to Pinchhakupika. S. F of Br. Bava and Mulla pond. W. W. of Grama-nipada. N. Mulavarmnapataka.	In Desanaka at the entrance of Madhumali in Surāṣṭra (E.).

65	(ii) F	.. ..	....	70 pād.	E. Visalapataka. S. Śivatrataijja. W. Visalapataka. N. Do.	(S.E.).
	(iii) F	.. ..	Uchcha.	90 pād.	E. Visalapataka. S. Do. W. Road to Pinchhakūpika. N. F of Theraka.	Do.
	(iv) F	.. ..	....	20 pād.	E. Manaijjka river. S. F tilled by Bappaka. W. F of Br. Skanda. N. Do.	(W.).
66	(i) F	.. ..	....	150 pād.	....	In Dhusā grāma in gōsalyāsasthali in Surāṣṭra.
	(ii) F	.. ..	....	120 pād.	E. F of Dēvasarman. S. Dandasa grāma. W. F of Jajjyallaka. N. Do.	(S.).
67	Village	.. ..	Kasaka.	....	....	In —mandali Sthali in Surastra.
68	(i) S.W.	.. ..	....	25 pād.	E. F of Pāṇḍava. S. Prechiha of Datta. W. Sisagara field. N. F of Ku. Savgilaka.	In Madasara in Madasarasthali in Surastra (N.E.).
	(ii) F	.. ..	....	104 pād.	....	(N.).
	(a)	..	....	16 pād.	E. F of Br. Anahaka. S. F of Ku. Chachcha and Matrea. W. Madhavanaka F road to Karata padraka and Sagara field. N. Durea field.	

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
68	(ii) F (*b*) ..	....	30 pād.	E. F of Br. Śankara. S. F of Br. Anahaka. W. F of Ku. Bhatuka. N. F of Br. Anahaka.	
	(*c*) ..	....	43 pād.	E. Road to Suptavasadhi. S. F of Braṭaṅgaka. W. F of Pattinaka and Matrsthāna F. N. Suptavasadhi grāma sima.	
	(*d*) ..	....	10 pād.	E. Royal road. S. Top of village. W. Prachchiha of Kalaputra Varuna. N. F of Karkaka.	
	(*e*) ..	....	5 pād.	E. F of Bra. Chamasa. S. 'Dasanaka' F. W. Royal road. N. F of Bra. Sankara.	
69	(i) F		1 vrihipiṭaka	....	In Antika in Bharukachchha visaya.
	(*a*) ..	..	....	E. Śrāddhikā sima. S. Road to Amalakataka. W. Tagara F of Bra. Karkka. N. Pond and F of Lambasvāmian.	(E.).
	(*b*) ..	....	....	E. F of Bra. Toṇḍaka. S. Do. W. Bhadranaka—grāmasima and Balapallika grāma sima. N. F of Bra. Ksarmā-svāmin.	(S.).

69	(ii) Bhṛsti ..	.. ....	....	E. Srāddhikā-sima. S. Royal road. W. Balapallikā-sima. N. Balapallikā-grāma and Bhrstlave of Āditya dasa.	(N.).
70	Village ..	.. Loṇapadraka.	....	....	Near Khodasthalika in Loṇāpadraka Sthali.
71	Do. ..	.. Morāñjijja.	....	....	In Antaratrā in Surāṣṭra.
72	....	....	....	....	....
73	....	....	....	....	....
74	....	....	....	....	....
75	Village ..	.. Antarapallika.	....	....	Near Dınnaputra in Surāṣṭra.
76	Do. ..	.. Kandhajja.	....	....	Near Uasingha in Surāṣṭra.
77	Do. ..	.. Bahuvā aka.	....	....	On the bank of Vappoıka in Suryāpura viṣaya.
78	Do. ..	.. Mahilābali.	....	....	In Uppalaheta pathaka in Khēṭaka āhāra.
79	Do. ..	.. Kalahaṭaka.	....	....	In H.V.A.
80	....	....	....	....	....
81	....	....	....	....	....
82	....	....	....	....	....
83	....	....	....	....	In Hariyāṇaka (S.E.).
84	....	....	....	....	....
85	....	....	....	....	....
86	2 villages ..	.. (i) Vyāghradinnānaka.	....	....	In —saraka Pathaka.
		(ii) —lēna.	....	....	In Kala (?)—
87	....	....	....	....	....
88	....	....	....	....	....
89	....	....	....	....	....
90	....	....	....	....	....
91	....	....	....	....	....

No.	Nature	Name	Area	Boundaries	Situation
92	....	....	....	....	In Surāṣṭra.
93	....	....	....	....	....
94	....	....	....	....	....
95	....	....	....	....	....
96	....	....	....	....	....
97	Village ..	.. Nandiaraka.	....	E. Girivili grāma. S. Madavi river. W. Sea. N. Deyathali grāma.	In Kāntisagrāma Sodasaseta-viṣaya.
98	Do. ..	.. Vikiliśa.	....	E. Tabha grāma. S. Jiruka grāma. W. Delavadra grāma. N. Nerachha river.	In Gharaya viṣaya.
99	(i) Field ..	.. ....	100 pād.	....	In Aksasaraka Maṇḍala (S.W.) in H.V.A.
	(ii) S-well ..	.. ....	12 pād.	...	....

DETAILS ABOUT DONEES OF THE VALABHI GRANTS

(I) Brahmanas

Nos. of the App. A.	Name	Father's name	Gotra	Vedic branch of study	Residence	Came from
2	Kumāraśarman and Jarbhajya	....	Śaṇḍilya.	Chhaṇḍoga (Sam. Veda).	Sankarvātaka.	....
3	Rotghamitra	....	Vrajagaṇa.	Chhaṇḍoga.	Simhapura.	....
5	Sachitiśarman	....	Droṇāyana.	Atharvvana.	Hastakavapra.	....
6	Mādhava	....	Suṇaka.	Chhaṇḍoga.	Jesthānaka.	....
7	Dhammila	....	Darbha.	Vajisanēya.	Hariyāṇaka.	....
8	Nanna	....	Mānava.	Chhaṇḍoga.	Vaḷāpadrea.	....
9	Viṣṇuśarman	....	Jābālā.	Vājisanēyi (Sukla Yajur).	Smihapur.	....
10	Śāntiśarman and Dēvaśarman	....	Atrēya.	Vājisanēyi.	Nagaraka.	....
11	Bhaṭṭi and Guhabhaṭṭi	....	Bhārgava.	Bahvrja (Rgavēda).	Hastavapra.	....
12	Skandha	....	Opasvasti.	Vājisanēya.	Akrolaka.	....
15	Skandatrata and Guhatrata	..	Bhāradvaja.	Chhaṇḍoga.	Anandapura.	....
16	....	..	....	...	Do.	....
20	Chhachchhara	...	Bhārgava.	Maitrāyaṇa.	Bhramapura.	....
21	Rudragopa	Rudragōsha.	Kausravasa.	Atharvvaṇa.	Anantapura.	....
22	Rogha or Syēna	....	Kausika.	Vajisanēya.	....	....
23	Rudrabhūti	....	Kaṇvavatsa.	Do.	Unnata.	....
24	Dusa and Sasthi	....	Śāṇḍilya.	Chhaṇḍoga Kanthuma.	....	....
25	(i) Ludra	....	Karadi.	Bahvṛcha.	....	....
	(ii) Dasila	....	Alambāyana.	Do.	....	....
26	Viśākha and Bappa	....	Kāśyapa.	Chhaṇḍōga.	....	....
27	Devadatta	....	Śāṇḍilya.	Maitrāyani.	....	....
30	Viṣṇumitra	—mitra.	Śarkarākṣi.	Bahvṛcha.	Khēṭaka.	Anandapura.

Nos. of the App. A.	Name	Father's name	Gotra	Vedic branch of study	Residence	Came from
31	Amaraśarman .. .. .. Anuhaśarman	Bhadraśarman.	Gahunāyana.	Bahvṛcha.	....	....
34	Drōṇa, Indravasu, Vatsa, Śāsti, Guhila, Bhaṭṭisurya, Dinnabhaṭṭi, Ludraka, Ādityavasu, Drōṇa II, Drōṇa III, Kumāraśarman, Bhaṭṭi, Ādityaravi, Gaṇaka, Ujjhaka, Ghōpādhyaka, Khaṇḍa, Śarman, Bhadra, Āditya, Āditya II, Bappaṭaka, Matṛśarman, Īśvara, Boppasvāmin, Bappaṭaka, Gōpa, Dama, Bhadra II, Khokkhaka, Kēśava, Govaśarman, Agniśarman, Gōpa II, Navuvaka, Kumārabhadra, Siha, Naṭṭaka, *Ginjaka*, *Goggaka*, Saṅgāma, Bhaṭṭi II and Bhānu.	....	Various.	Various.	Saṅgapuri.	....
37	Bhaṭṭi	Bhaṭṭaguha.	Bhāradvāja.	Chhaṇḍoga-Kanthum of (Sāma Vēda).	Valabhī.	Anartapura.
41	Mitraśarman .. .. .. Ganeśvara	Rudraśarman.	Audaresani.	Chhaṇḍōga.	Valabhī.	Dasapura.
43	Bhava	Bhadra.	Bhāguri.	Maitrāyaṇa.	Chinchānaka.	....
44	Gujta	Adta.	Kaundinya.	Vājisanēyī.	Tramati.	Kasahṛda.
45	Mitrayasasu	Viṣṇuyasas.	Atrēya.	Atharvaṇa.	Hastavapra.	....
47	Matrakala	Skandhavasu.	Bhāradvāja.	Chhaṇḍoga.	Khēṭaka.	Girnagara.
48	Dēvakula (son of) .. .. Bhada (son of)	Śarmman. Dattila.	Kapisthala.	Chhaṇḍoga (Sāma Vēda).	Gōrakēsa.	Vēlāpadra.
51	Agniśvamin and Saṅgaravi	Kumārasvāmin. Mahēśvara	Pārāsara. Kauśika.	Vājisanēyi Do.	Agastikagrahara. Ayanakagrahara.	Udamargarha and Jambusara.

52	Dattasvamin	Buddhasvāmin.	Pārāsara.	Mādhyāndin-Vajisanēyī.	Ayāṇaka.	Udumbaragra-hara.
	Kumarasvāmi	Do.	Do.	Vājisanēyī (Chaturvēdi).	Agastikāgrahara.	....
54	Arjuna, Maṅkasvāmi	Guhādhya.	Bhāradvāja.	Chhaṇḍoga.	Kikkataputra.	Simhapura.
55	Nārāyaṇamitra	Kēśavamitra.	Sarkarāśi.	Bahvṛcha (Rgavēdi).	Kāsara.	Anarpura.
56	Āditiśarman	Bhavināga.	Parasara.	Vājisanēyī.	Khēda.	Udumbargraha.
58	Bhaṭṭibhaṭṭa	Bappa.	Kauśika.	Vajisanēyī (Chaturvedi).	Mahichhaka.	Mahichhaka (?).
59	Nārāyaṇa	Kēśava.	Sarkarāśi.	Bahavṛcha (Rgavēdi).	Khēṭaka.	Anandapara.
61	Yagnadatta	Śrīdharadatta.	Gārgya.	Chhaṇḍogya (Chaturvēdi).	Valabhī.	Do.
62	Sōma	Dattulika.	Bhāradvāja.	Chhaṇḍogya.	....	Kasahṛda.
	Pittaleśvara	Bhaṭṭihāri.	Vatsa.	Vājisanēyī.	Simhapura.	Girinagara.
	Nāga	Pittalēśvara.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
63	Nadhullā	Skanda.	Tapa.	....	Khēṭaka.	Girinirjana.
64	Saggada	Samabadaṭṭa.	Kauśika.	(Dikśita).	Valabhī.	Puṣyāsambapura.
65	Bhaṭṭi and his brother Iśvara	Dhaṇapati.	Daundavya.	Vājisanēyi.	....	Dīpa.
66	Magopadatta	Kikkaka.	Asayagarga.	(Adhvaryu).	Valabhī.	Ānandapura.
68	Dikṣita (Saggada)	Śambadatta.	Kauśika.	Vājisanēyi.	....	Puṣyāsambapura.
69	Balaśarman	Ādityaśarman.	Upamanyu.	(Adhvaryu).	Srāddhika.	Girinagara.
70	Bhūtakumāra	Drōṇa.	Bhāradvāja.	Maitrāyaniya (Kṛṣṇa Yajur).	Valabhī.	Gomutrikā.

Nos. of the App. A.	Name	Father's name	Gotra	Vedic branch of study	Residence	Came from
71	Dēvila	Bappa.	Śāṇḍilya.	Maitrāyaṇi-manavaka.	Vanśakatā.	Dasapura.
73	....	....	....	....	Valabhī.	Ānandapura.
75	Vasudēvabhūti	Dāmodarbhūti.	Gārgya.	Bahvṛcha.	Liptikhanda.	Vardhamāna-bhukti.
76	Vasudēvabhūti	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.
77	Sambhulla	Datalla.	Pārāsara.	(Atharvaṇa).	Dahaka.	....
78	Akhandala	Viṣṇu.	Sarkkarākṣi.	Bahavṛcha.	Anandapura.	....
79	Viśvadatta / Vasudatta	....	Bharadvaja.	....	—nagara.	....
97	Gōvinda	Iśara.	Kauśika.	Chhaṇḍoga (Samvēdi).	....	Daspura.
98 (*b*)	Gōma	....	....	....	....	....

(II) Buddhist-Viharas

No.	Name	Built by	Mandala	Place	Remarks
13	....	Duḍḍa.	..	Valabhī.	....
14	....	Āchārya Bhadānta Buddhadas.	In Duḍḍavihāra.	Do.	....
17	....	Duḍḍa.	....	Do.	....
18	Duḍḍamahā vihāra ..	Do.	....	Do.	....
19	Abhantarika ..	Mimma.	....	....	Near Bhatārka vihāra.
28	Bappāpadiya ..	A. B. Sthiramati.	....	Valabhī.	....
29	....	Kakka Maṅkila.	....	(Valabhī).	In the Duḍḍa Vihāra.
32	....	....	....	....	....
33	....	Duḍḍa.	....	Valabhī.	....
35	....	....	....	Vanśakatā.	....
36	Yakṣasūra ..	....	....	Valabhī.	(Of Bhiksuṇi F).
38	....	Rakṣasūra.	....	Do.	Do.
46	....	Gohaka.	Duḍḍā.	Do.	....
49	....	Purṇṇabhaṭṭa.	Yakṣasūra.	Do.	(Of Bhiksuṇi's Sūra vihāra).
53	....	Skandhabhūta.	....	Yōdhāvaka (in Hastavapra).	Mahāyānic.
59	....	(i) A Bhikṣu Sthiramati. (ii) A Bhikṣu Vimalagupta.	Duḍḍāvihāra.	(Valabhī).	....
67	....	A. B. Vimalagupta.	Duḍḍavihāra.	Valabhī.	....
83	....	....	....	Do.	....
86	....	Śīlāditya I.	....	Vanśakatā.	....
90	....	Duḍḍā.	....	Valabhī.	....
92	....	Do.	....	Do.	....

(III) Brahmanical-temples

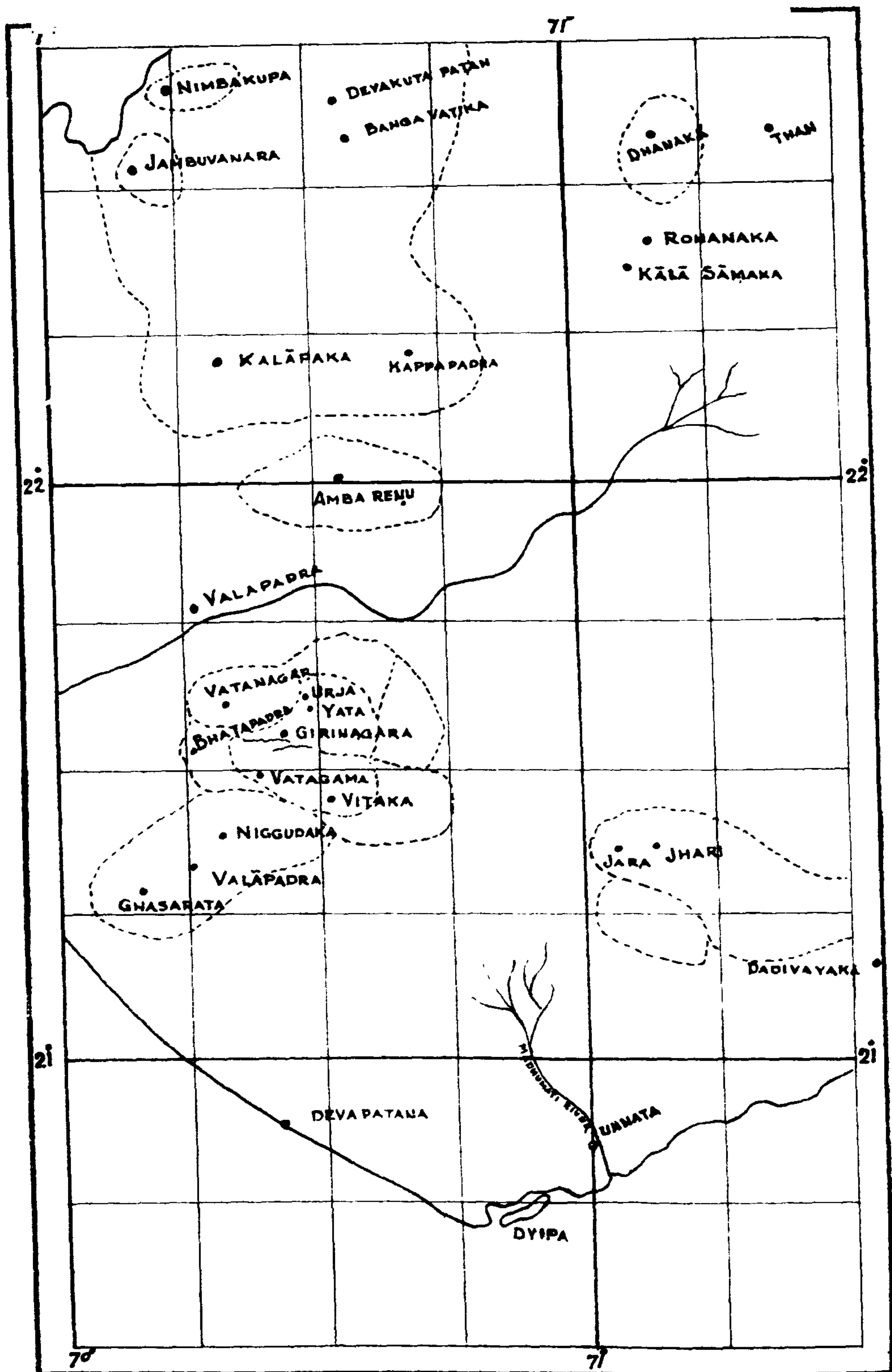
No.	Name	Built by	Situated at	Remarks
1	Pāṇḍurāja	....	Hastavapra	....
			Aharaṇi .. .. probably in Trisangamaka	Goddess
39	Mahādeva	Harinatha ..	Vatapadra	Śiva
42	Ādityadeva	....	Bhadrēṇiyakā ..	Sun God
50	Koṭṭāmmabika ..	....	Trisaṅgamaka ..	Goddess

(IV) Donees Unknown

Nos. 41, 57, 72, 74, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96.

PART III

GEOGRAPHY



FIND SPOTS AND PLACES IN THE WEST OF THE VALABHI KINGDOM
AS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

GEOGRAPHY

Valabhī, the celebrated capital of the Maitrakas, roughly corresponds to the town of Vaḷā, the present capital of a small state of the same name in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. It lies roughly eighteen miles to the north-west of Bhāvanagar. To the local population Vaḷā is known as Valeh which represents the Prākṛt form of Valabhī.[1]

Though it is now a few miles away from the Bhāvanagar creek, Valabhīpura was in ancient days an important port in the Gulf of Cambay. Its present position is due to the natural physical changes which in course of time have silted up the western portion of the creek. The excavations at Vaḷā have disclosed the old ruins of Valabhī under its layers.

The Maitraka kingdom at the height of its power included the Surāṣṭra, on its western boundary. in the east, as attested by both the epigraphical[2] records and the Mañju-Śrī-Mūla-Kalpa, it extended as far as Ujjaini.[3] The northern boundary may be traced to Ānandapura[4] the present Vaḍanagara, while the southern limit of the kingdom stretched at least upto Bharukachchha.[5] It is further clear from these records that the region between the Sahya and the Vindhya was included in the Maitraka kingdom.[6] This fact bears testimony to the spread of the Maitraka sway in the south-east to the region beyond the Narmadā and Sātapūda as far as the Sahyādris. In the north-west Cutch may be included within its boundaries inasmuch as Hiuen Tsiang described it as an appanage of Mālavā,[7] which was governed by the Maitraka kings. This is further supported by the fact that some coins of the Maitrakas have been discovered in Cutch, though this is not a conclusive evidence for proving the spread of the Maitraka sway over the region. Thus the Valabhī kingdom from

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1 By an ukase recently issued the state authorities have reverted to the original name, so the capital is once more called Valabhipura (from 25th May 1945), while the state itself will continue to be known as the Vaḷā state (Cf. " Vala nu Valabhipura," *Janma bhūmi*, Monday, 23rd July, 1945).

Valabhī is described in Sanskrit literature, whether Brāhmaṇical, Jaina or Buddhist, as the capital of Surāṣṭra. This has been supported by the epigraphical records of the Maitrakas who ruled over this country for about three centuries from the last quarter of the fifth century down to the eighth century A.D. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang in narrating his account of this country in the seventh century mentions it as a territory under the sway of king Dhruvapaṭa (cf. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 246; Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 266), who is correctly identified with the Maitraka king Dhruvasēna II.

2 Gadre, *op. cit.*, p. 659.

3 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

4 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

5 This is indicated not only by the military camp of Dharasēna IV at the place, but king Śīlāditya III had actually made a grant of a village in Bharukachchha.

6 Fleet, *op. et loc. cit.*

7 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 241.

Mount Ābu in the north to the river Tāpti in the south covered a length of about 280 miles, and from the Arabian Sea in the west to its eastern boundary at Avanti measured 480 miles.[1]

It was divided into several administrative units. The largest of these was Viṣayas of which eight are mentioned in the sources now at our command: (1) Surāṣṭra,[2] (2) Khēṭaka,[3] (3) Mālavaka, (4) Śivabhāgapura, (5) Bharukachchha, (6) Suryāpura, (7) Ghorās, and (8) Ānandapura.

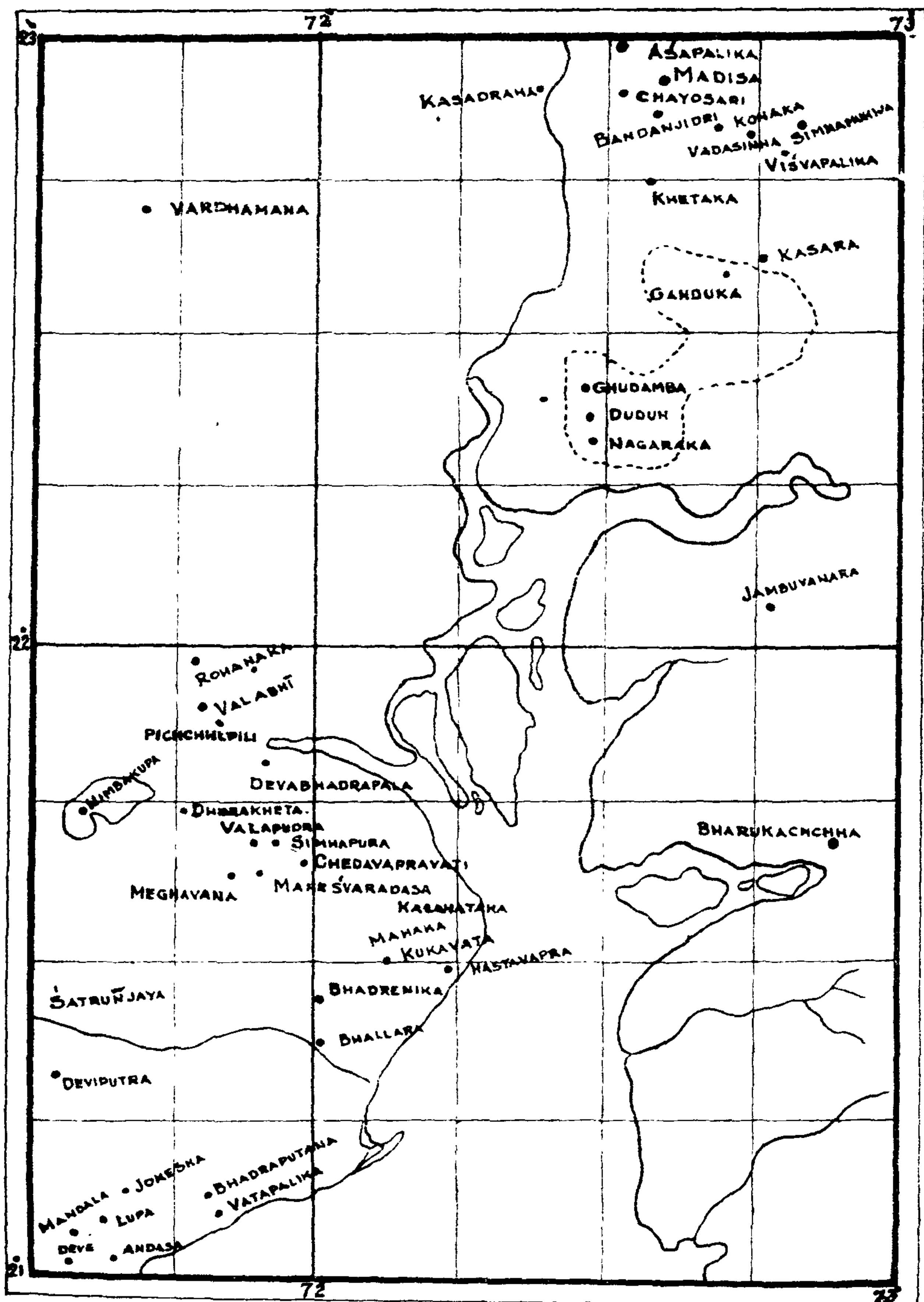
Each of these Viṣayas was divided into Āhāras or Āhāraṇis, and the Āharās into Paṭhakas, and these again into Bhūkti, Bhūmi, Pēṭha, Maṇḍali, Sthali, Draṅga and Grāmas. In the following pages is a list of geographical names that we find in the copper-plate grants.

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1 The Valabhī kingdom may roughly be taken to have spread over from 24°.45 N. at the southern and again from 75°.45 E. at the eastern to 69° E. at the western boundaries. This comes to the length of about 400 miles from east to west and a breadth of more than 200 miles from north to south.

2 The usual term used by the Kṣatrapas, the Guptas and the Maitrakas is Suraṣṭra (plural) and not Saurāṣṭra.

3 Khēṭaka Āhāra extended over an area of 50 miles from north to south as well as from west to east.



FIND SPOTS AND PLACES IN THE CENTRE OF THE VALABHI KINGDOM AS MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

N.B.—These numerals refer to the numerical order in which the inscriptions are mentioned in the previous chapter on epigraphy.

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Agustika	....	It was in the vicinity of Āyavaka. May be identified with Agēsthi, four miles north of Nōgāva.	51, 52
Akōṭaka	....	Present Akadia near Dhasa, twenty miles to the west of Vaḷā.	12
Akkoṭaka	Hastavapra in Surāṣtra.	Donee's residence, identified with Akādia near Dhasā, two miles to the west of Vaḷā.	4
Akrolaka	——in Surāṣṭra ..	Donee's residence. It may be Aklera which is at a distance of about twenty miles from Pālitāṇā, the findspot of the grant.	12
Akṣasāraka ..	....	Near Jyēṣṭhānaka, Hariyāṇaka and Vasukiya.	5, 6, 9
Akṣasaraka ..	Akṣaraka in Hastavapraāhāra in Surāṣṭra.	....	4, 6, 7, 9
Amadāsputra ..	Ghāsaraka Paṭhaka in Surāṣṭra.	It was situated in the vicinity of Vaṭadraha.	38
Amākārakupa ..	Hastavapra āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	....	45
Amalakaṭaka ..	....	Identified with Amol, near Jambhusara.	78
Ambarēṇu	Aśikāṇaka in Surāṣra.	....	21
Ambrēlika	....	The grant refers to a pathaka leading to Amrdika. It may be the same as Amreli of the present day.	24
Anandapura. ..	....	Identified with the present Vaḍnagar.	15, 16, 30, 78
....	Anandapura-Viṣaya.. (It was the north-east part of the kingdom.)	Anandapura is the present Vaḍanagara near Sidhapura.	78
Anjanaka	Malavā	The donee's residence, identified with Āiyāṇa, ten miles north of Nogāvā.	51-52

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Annata ..	.. Antaratra in Surāṣṭra.	Donee resided in this village, probably near Div Uṇa ata, distance of fifty miles from Maliya.	23
Antarapallika ..	....	This village was granted together with another village named Kandhajjā to the same donee who resided at Liptikhaṇḍa. The present Antroli is probably the village the name of which may be a derivation of Antarapāllikā. But as there is no village bearing a name resembling Dinnaputrā near it, confirmation relating to its identification is not possible.	21, 37, 85
Antarātra ..	.. Surāṣṭra	It may possibly be taken as a natural region as indicated by its name which means a region between two rivers. It may have been near Maliya, the findspot of the grant.	23
Antika	....	It has been identified with Anti, two miles south-east of the flag-station Bhōj between Barodā and Jambusara.	78
Ānumañji ..	.. Anumañji Sthali ..	This may have been modern Amreli.	18, 52
....	Aristhijjka Sthali ..	....	44
Asilapallikā ..	Bandarijidri-Pathaka in Khēṭaka in Surāṣṭra.	It has been identified with Aśmal near Ahmedabad. It is also known as Aśapallī which represents the site of the old Karṇāvatī, the city built by the Solaṅki king Karaṇa, who reigned in the eleventh century (A.D. 1064-94). It is at a distance of ten miles from Baryādi.	35
Aśvaniputra ..	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	54
Atiniśaka ..	.. Hastaparva āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	....	2
Ayavāka ..	.. ....	In the vicinity of Agustikā, may be identified with Aigon, ten miles north of Nōgāva.	51, 52

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Bāhumūla ..	.. Vaṭapalli in Saurāṣtra.	....	19, 48
Baṇḍarijidri	.. Bandarijidri-Paṭhaka in Khēṭaka-āhāra.	This Paṭhaka was in the northern part of Kheṭaka. The headquarters Baṇḍarijidri have been identified with Barijadi, a station between Ahmedabad and Memadabad on the B.B. & C.I. Ry. line. It is ten miles away to the north of Kheṭaka.	35
Baṭapallika	.. ....	Lay to the west of Antikā.	78
Bhadasaka..	.. Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	A chain of hills dandaka, called Baratikā, is recorded in the grant as situated at the north of Bhadrēṇika.	27
Bhadrāṇuka	.. ....	Was in the vicinity of upleṭa near Dhānk. Bhadrēṇaka cannot be identified.	45
Bhadraputtana	.. ....	Four grants were issued from the military camp at this place, which was near Mahuvā and Talājā. It may be identified with Bhābod, four miles north-east of Mahuvā and twenty miles from Talājā.	26, 28, 30, 31, 33
Bhadraraka	.. ....	To the south-west of Antika. It is identified with Bhadara, a village two miles towards the south-west of Anti.	78
Bhadrēṇikā	.. Hastaparva āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	In the neighbourhood of a village called Śamihāmbara.	11, 12, 15
Bhadrēṇika	.. Bāravaṇa Sthali in Surāṣṭra.	There was a Sun-temple in this village as recorded in Dhaṇk plate of king Śilāditya I's grant.	42
Bhallara ..	.. Hastaparva āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	It may be identified with Bhalar, four miles south-west of Talājā about eighteen miles from Hāthab and only one mile to north of Vilāpadar.	9

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
....	Bharukachchha Viṣaya	This was one of the three Viṣayas of southern Gujarāt, the others being Akrurēsuara Viṣaya and Saṅgrāma-Khēṭaka Viṣaya. The present name of Bharukachchha is Broach.	55
Bhasant ..	.. Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	Identified with Bhēsāṇa, sixteen miles east of Junāgaḍha.	46
Bhatharanaka ..	Do. ..	It lay to the south-west of Pahmavatikā.	61
Bhattakapadra ..	Kauṇḍinyapura in Surāṣṭra.	It is likely that Bhāntia itself may have been the ancient site of Bhaṭṭaka, as seems to be suggested by the philological affinity between the two names.	27, 31
Bhaṭṭāṇaka ..	....	It may be the same as the village Bhōtād, the only village near Udāvi.	34
Bhaṭṭika ..	.. Hastavapra āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	May be the same as present Bhāndi, a village at a distance of about eight miles to the west of Hāthab, and fourteen miles from Śihōr where the donee resided	62
Bhogāditya ..	....	It was to the east of Chincha-vadanaka near Luśā.	51
Bhoṇḍanaka ..	Vaṭanagara. ..	....	34
Bhramarakulya ..	Jharisthali in Surāṣṭra.	Near Vēlapadraka of the grants. It may be identified with Bhamar, one mile north-west of Uijpadi, a station on the side of Mahuvā along Bhāva-nagar State Railway line.	24
Bhūmida ..	.. Vatapaili in Surāṣṭra.	Modern Gōraksa was to the south-west of Mahuvā.	56
Bilvakhakha ..	Valvakhabha in Surāṣṭra.	Probably near the Jharisthali, as it is mentioned along with it. It may be the place called Bilvakha, thirty-two miles west of Jhar.	20
Bramhapara ..	....	This place lay far from Vajjadi near Doṅgar.	20, 24
Bramilanaka ..	....	To the east of Vēlāpadra.	45

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Chandrajutraka ..	Mālavaka	The donee resided near Nogāva. The place has been identified with Chandōdia, two miles south of Nogāva.	60
Chhaḍakapadraka.	....	It lies nine miles away from the Śēdēvādar, which may have been the same as Chhēdaka-padraka.	39
Chhēdaka-Padraka.	Hastavapra āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	....	8
Chinchaṇaka ..	Mandali in Surāṣṭra.	Situated to the south of Lustua which is identified with Lusdī near Maṇḍal. It is possible that this village was the same as the present Chinjhka which is two miles to the south of Lusdī.	31, 43
Chitrakasthalya ..	Kadambapadra Sthali in Surāṣṭra.	....	22, 26
Chossari.	....	May be identified with Chosar, three miles from Barijadi.	20
Choṭiāṇaka ..	....	May be identified with Chōṭikā, the terminus of the Thaw-Chōtikā branch.	37, 43
Chūṭika-grāma ..	Ariṣṭhijjka Sthali in Surāṣṭra.	....	27
Dabhaka	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	45
Dachchaṇaka ..	Hastavapra āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	It is situated to the east of Bhaṭṭka.	62
Dadhikripaka ..	Jharisthali Surāṣṭra ..	May be identified with the village of Dadhia, four miles to the east of Bhāmar.	24
Dahaka.	....	May be identified with Dhaka, thirteen miles south-west of Luṇāvāḍā.	45
Dakṣanapathaka ..	Śivabhāgapura Viṣaya.	This stands for the southern district of the Śivabhagapura visaya. It appears that the region south of Pāvāgaḍha upto the northern boundary of Saṅgrāma Khēṭaka viṣaya was included in it.	58
Damaripathaka ..	Vaṭapalli in Surāṣṭra.	....	26

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Dambhara .. .	Anumañji Sthali ..	May be identified with Dabhala, a place twenty-four miles away from the findspot of the grant, viz., Amreli. It is seven miles south-east of Dhāri.	51
Dandasā	Vaṭapalli in Surāṣṭra.	Lay to the south of Luśā and to the west of Mahuvā, the present village bearing the same name.	75
Daṉḏuraputra ..	Manḍali in Surāṣṭra.	This village may be identified with Danteradi at a distance of six miles from Maṇḍal.	40, 48
Dasaṇaka	....	On the delta of the Madhumati river.	65, 74
Dāsapura	Mālavaka . ..	It was an important town in this region, and is identified with Mandasōr, a place to the west of Ujjain.	41, 59
Dasara	....	May be a village thirty miles away from Kāsara.	65
Dēsuraksitijja ..	Samhapallia in Khēṭaka in Surāṣṭra.	May be identified with Dēsar, eight miles south-east of Thāsara and seventeen miles from Alimā, the find-spot of the grant.	63
Dēvabhadripallika.	Dharakhētaka Sthali.	The Sthali including this village have been near Hastavapra as two villages from both these divisions were donated to a vihāra at Valabhi simultaneously. It may be the same as Dēvāli, six miles from Vaḷā.	28
Dēvakula	Kalapahpathaka in Saurāṣṭra.	It lay to the west of Pahmavātikā, and may be identified with Dēvali which is a common name for a number of villages in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. This particular place was probably the present Dēvālia, fourteen miles to the east of Dhōl and eight miles to the west of Tankara.	61

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Dēvakulopaṭaka	Mālavaka	It has been identified with Dēvatkhadı lying in the vicinity of Chāndēdia (another suggestion for the identification of the place as Diland, four miles south-west of Dhāmēr, is not correct as it is further away from Nogāva, Ajeṣṭhi and Ayana than Devatkhadı.	52
Dēvalavadra ..	..	May be Mēlēndaderoha.	89
Dēvarakṣıta ..	....	....	22
Dēvarakṣita ..	Nimbakupasthalı in Surāṣṭra.	...	26
Dēyapalli	Nagavaka, ın Khetaka in Surastra.	May be identified with Dēvālaj, a place which ıs situated to the west of Sōjitrā, a railway station about two to three miles north of Rōhāṇaj.	72
Dēyathalıgrāma ..	....	....	63, 97
Dhammanahaddıka.	Mālavaka .. .	Identified with Dhammoḍ (another suggestion for the identification of this place as Dhamnar, eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, does not seem to be correct.)	52
Dhananda ..	..	It may be identified with Dhānōdā which ıs about four miles north-east of Kārjan.	69, 78
Dharakhēṭaka ..	Dharakhēṭaka Sthali.	Its headquarters may be identified with Dhıṇuka, a village six miles north-west of Soṅgaḍh, a station on the Bhāvanagar State Railway line.	28
Dinnaka	...	In the vicinity of Uplēta near Dhānak. It may probably be the same as the present Daduka, eleven miles south-east of Uplet.	39
Dinnaputra.. ..	..	Near a village Antarapullıkā.	85
Dipaṇaka	Pētha in Surāṣṭra ..	..	20
Dombhigrāma .	Antarātra in Surāṣṭra.	This may be the same as a village called Dābhodar, three miles north-east of Verāval.	23, 26

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Drōṇapadraka ..	Puṇyānakasthali in Surāṣṭra.	....	33
Duhuduhu . ..	Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāṣṭra.	To its east lay Guddapall, while yet another village, Jainnapalli, lay to the south. This place may be identified with Dēhēra.	64, 64
Dvīpa	...	The donee migrated from the place and settled near Mahuvā. It is the same as Diu, an island in the south of Kāṭhiawād which is in the possession of the Portuguese. Traditionally it was known to be a peninsula but at present it has turned into an island as a result of a sudden inundation.	74
Ekalika	Jambuvānara in Surāṣṭra.	...	22, 26
Ekalika	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	It belonged to Jambuvānara.	22
Gahvara	....	Four Brāhmaṇas are mentioned as emigrants from this place.	51, 52, 56
Gaṇḍuka	Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāṣṭra.	To be identified with Gaḍa, a village near Dēvālaj.	72
Ghāsaraka	Ghāsaraka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra.	The headquarters of this Pathaka Ghāsaraka may be identified with Ghāsari, five miles south-west of Kēśād.	36
Ghōrās	Valapalli in Surāṣṭra	It lay nine miles to the north-west of Mahuvā.	56
Ghṛtālaya	Ghṛtālaya Bhūmi. (It formed the eastern division of the Viṣaya.)	The place may be identified with modern Ghutiā on the Sutlu river and eight miles to the north-east of Jambughoḍā.	59
Girinagar	....	The name of this ancient city is traceable in Girnar, the name of the hill near Junāgadh is Sōrath. From the Mauryan (322 B.C.) period down to the Gupta rule in Surāṣṭra (A D. 468) the place was the metropolis of the province of Surāṣṭra.	55, 71, 72, 78

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Giriviligrāma ..	....	....	98
Godrahaka.. ..	....	A place of encampment. May be Gōdhrā, the capital of Panchamahāl district. The sufix 'ka' is dropped. From the name of the place it appears that there was a 'Lake for Cows' near it. Even in the present Godhrā a large tank exists.	77
Goffaraṇaṭaka ..	Bāravaṇa in Surāṣṭra.	....	49
Gōmutrika ..	....	The donee emigrated from this place and settled at Valabhī.	70
Gopparavaṭaka ..	....	....	27
Guddapalli.. ..	Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāṣṭra.	The same as Guḍāli. It is about two and a half miles north-west of Dēhēra, and the village Juni is about three miles to the south of the latter.	63
Hariyāṇaka ..	Akṣasāraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	....	7, 83
Hastavapra ..	Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	It has been identified with Hāthab in the Kōliyāt tāluka of Bhāvanagar territory. It is about fifteen miles south-east of Bhāvanagar, six miles to the south of Ghōghā, two miles to the south of Kōliyak. It is situated at 72° 16′ E. and 70° 36′ N. on the eastern coast of the Peninsula.	4, 5, 11
Hastihradaka ..	Siravaṭaka Sthali ..	It was the headquarters of this sthali.	45, 53
Hastikapallika ..	Konaka-pathaka in Khēṭaka in Surāṣṭra.	Probably the same as a place named Hathnoli which is four miles to the north of Kuṇa.	55
Indraṇipadraka ..	Puṇyānaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	33, 40

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Iśikāraṇaka .	Ambarēṇu Sthali ..	Dr. Diskalkar has suggested that the name 'Ambaruṇa' philologically resembles 'Amraṇa' which is twenty miles to the north-east of Dhrōl. However, it is more likely to have been the same as another place called Ambardi on the Phophal river which is about fourteen miles north-west of Virpura (Gōṇḍal) being nearer to the findspot of the grant.	21
Jambusara .. .	....	At present this place is known by the same name, the head-quarters of Jambusara tāluka of the Broach district.	59
Jambuvānara ..	Jambuvānara in Surāṣṭra.	It seems to be different from the village of Jambuvānara mentioned in the grant No. 26. At a distance of about two miles from Pālitāṇā, the findspot of the grant, is situated a place named Jāmbvalia which may be identified with this village.	21
Jambuvānara ..	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	May be identified with Jambuvānara, nine miles north-east of Navānagar, and at a distance of less than four miles from Jambura river.	22, 63
Jhār	Jharisthali in Surāṣṭra.	The headquarters of the Jharisthali may have been Jhār which is also the findspot of the grant.	20
Jiruka	....	May be identified with the village Jiyava-Dvivēdi.	97
Jninnāpalli	Nagarska in Khetaka in Surāṣṭra.	May be identified with Juni.	4
Jo......salyasa ..	....	....	66
Jyeṣṭaṇaka	Akṣasāraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	....	4, 6, 7, 9
Jyotipadra	....	Probably the same as the present Jōdiā near Jāmkhambhāliā.	24

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Kadambapadra ..	Kadambapadra Sthali in Surāṣṭra.	It was the headquarters of the sthali.	22, 26
Kakkapadra ..	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	22
Kakkinjja	Puṇyānaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	33, 40
Kālahaṭaka.. ..	Aksasāraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	Identified with Kāliyak near Hāthab. Its local variant form is Kōliyat or Kōliyad which is similar to the name Kālahaṭaka.	10, 79
Kālapaka	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	The headquarters of this pathaka have been identified with Kāṭāwād, a village with a population of 2,500. It is twenty-six miles south-east of Navānagar.	22, 63
Kālapakapathaka ..	Kadambapadra Sthali in Surāṣṭra.	The headquarters of this pathaka have been identified with Kālawād, a village with a population of 2,500. It is twenty-six miles south-east of Navānagar.	54
Kālasamako ..	....	May be the place now known as Kāṭasara.	37, 43
Kanakasomaka ..	...	It was near Vasukiya river.	27
Kāntārapuragrāma.	Ṣoḍaśaviṣaya	....	97
Karnasomagrama ..	....	It was near Vansālika river.	27
Kasakagrāma ..	Sopakēndra Maṇḍali-sthali in Surāṣṭra.	....	67, 76
Kasara	....	It lay not very far from Khēṭaka and may be identified with a village of the same name, lying five miles north-west of Petlad, a junction between Anand and Cambay.	63
Kasatrad or Kasadraha.	Kasatrada Pathaka in Khēṭaka in Surāṣṭra.	It is on the Sābarmati river, approximately twelve miles away from Ahmadabad, and fifteen miles from Khēda.	44

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Kaundinyapura ..	Surāṣṭra. (It was a large unit which was required to be divided into uttara-pathaka and Dakṣiṇā-pathaka.)	It is identified with Kuṇḍinapura, the place of residence of king Bhīṣmaka, father of Rukmini. It is about a mile to the west of modern Kuliana, thirty-two miles west of Junagadh and twenty-five miles to the east of Porbandar. It is on the bank of the river Bhaderā.	31
Kavitthavika ..	Nagaraka in Khetaka in Surāṣṭra.	To be identified with Katāvi, a village near Dēvālaj.	72
Khandhajja ..	....	It may be identified with Kundhaj, ten miles south-east of Dhank and six miles south-west of Uplet.	88
Khēṭaka	Khēṭaka-Viṣaya in Surāṣṭra.	The headquarters of the Viṣaya, it is identified with Khēda, the headquarters of the Kaira district.	30, 45
Khēṭaka Padraka ..	Hastavapra	....	61
Khōdasthalaka ..	Luṇāpadraka in Surāṣṭra.	....	69, 80
Khuddavediya ..	....	It must have been in the vicinity of Anumañjari near Amreli.	13
Kikaṭaputra ..	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	May be identified with Koṭariya, which is at a distance of less than eight miles to the north of Padana.	5, 54
Koṇakapathaka ..	Khētaka in Surāṣṭra ..	The headquarters of this pathaka may have been Kuṇa which lies six miles to the north-east of Ahmadabad and two miles to the south of Ghoḍasara. It is fifteen miles north-east of Khēda.	55
Konatepadraka ..	Madasarasthali in Surāṣṭra.	In the vicinity of Madsar.	67, 77
Koraṭapadraka ..	....	This was near Madasara on the coastal line, and be identified with a place named Koṭāda which is thirteen miles to the east of Mahuvā.	77

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Kukkaṭa ..	.. Hastavapra ..	.. Identified with Kukad near Tansa in Goghā taluka, about nine miles south-west of Hāthab.	5, 3
Kukkuraṇaka ..	...	A vihāra was situated at this place. It was near Vaḷā (Duḍḍāvihāra) and may be identified with Karkōliā, about two miles to the south-west of Śihōr, and thirteen miles from Vaḷā	69, 76
Lesrudka	....	May be Lusada, a station on Jāmanagar State Railway line.	4, 29
Liptikhaṇḍa ..	...	It was situated near Dhānk. The phonetic resemblance of Lipti with this place name itself suggests the identity.	85, 86
Loharapadraka .	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	To the south of Jambuvānara.	22
Ludha ..	Vaṭapalli in Surāṣṭra..	The name of the Sthali cannot be deciphered properly, but the situation of the villages as described in the grant shows that what was tentatively read as 'Jo .. satyas' must be Vaṭapallikā, to the west of Mahuvā. It may be the same village now known as Luḍhā.	56
Luṇāpadraka ..	Lunāpadraka in Surāṣṭra.	Present Lunāvāda.	69, 80
Madkarṇa .	Hastavapra	Its identification with the present village Makharid near Talājā is suggested on phonetical grounds.	2
Mahēśvaradasēṇaka	Do. . ..	It has been identified with Mahādevapur, six miles south of Talajā, and about twenty-five miles south-west of Hāthab. This place is forty-three miles away from Vaḷā where the recipient Vihāra (of the grant) was situated. Hence another Mahādēvapura which is near Śihōr may be taken for this place. It is fourteen miles from Vaḷā and about twenty-one miles from Hāthab.	28

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Mahichhaka ..	....	It lay near Kapadavanj.	66
Mahiṣābali ..	Uppalaheta Pathaka in Khēṭaka āhāra in Surāṣṭra.	The correct reading seems to be Mahiśabali and not Mahilābali. The place may be identified with the present Mahiśa, three miles north of Aliṇā, the findspot of the grant.	88
Maṇḍali	Mandalidraṅga in Surāṣṭra.	Drāṅga division was possibly a large town or a city including its suburbs. About three miles to the west of the village Lusdi there is a place named Maṇḍal which possibly represents Mandali, the headquarters of the sthali.	20, 48
Mēghavaṇa ..	....	It was near Luśā and Madasa. It may be Mēghāvēdar, three miles south-west of Sihōr.	66, 68
Morañjija . .	Antarātra in Surāṣṭra.	Probably modern Moruka, eight miles north-east of Talājā, a railway station on Verāval side.	71
Mularamapaṭaka ..	...	To the north-east of Desāṇaka.	74
Naddiyā	———pathaka in Khēṭaka.	May be identified with Nāndēj, half a mile distance from Bārjadi.	20
Nāgadinnaka .	Rčhāṇaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	86
Nāgāraka	Hastavapra .. .	Donee's residence.	10, 11
Nāgaraka	Nāgarakapathaka in Khētaka.	The headquarters of the Nāgaraka pathaka, have been identified with Nagara, a place which is at a distance of two miles to the north of Cambay. It is twenty-five miles away from Khēdā. The pathaka seems to be the southernmost pathaka of Khēṭaka āhāra.	63
Nandiarkagrāma.	....	....	97
Nāṭakaputra	Hastavapra	....	11, 12, 15
Natyoṭaka	Jambuvānara in Surāṣṭra	....	22
Nātyoṭaka	Kalapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	It belonged to Jambuvānara.	22

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Navagrāma ..	Mālavaka	Identified with Nogāva.	54, 59
Nēradēhha ..	....	May be identified with Nērōli.	76
Niggudaka	Ghasaraka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra	It may be identified with a village called Nagādiā which is ten miles north-east of Kiśod.	36, 44
Niguda	Vatapalli in Surāṣṭra.	...	36
Pahamavatika ..	Kalapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	It is mentioned that it was situated in Kātakṣaytaka which seems to be a wrong reading for Kālapakapathaka. It may be modern Bamagandi which is in the vicinity of Dēvāli.	61, 64
Pangulujallika ..	Ghṛtālaya Bhūmi (it formed the eastern division of the Viṣaya).	The identification of this place with Patia the in Thāsara taluka does not seem to be correct. It may be more correctly identified with a village Pālia in the Śivarājapura Viṣaya bearing close affinity to the name.	68
Paṭapadra	Śivabhāgapura Viṣaya.	Probably the same as Padēri, a village eight miles south of Śivabhāgapur.	66
Paṭṭaṇaka	Kālapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	It lay to the north-west of Sarkarapadraka of the grant.	54
Pichchhipalli ..	...	Near Valabhī. It may be identified with Pachhēgam, a place three miles to the north-west of Vaḷā.	67
Pippalaruṅkhali ..	....	On the western border of Anumañji-sthali. It is possible that this place was the same as Pipalia, about fourteen miles south-west of Amreli.	13
Pippalarunkhari ..	**Anumañji Sthali** ..	....	**13, 18**
Pulindaka	**Mālavaka**	**It was to the north of Navagrāma. Identified with Palduna, two miles north-west of Baroda.**	**59**
Pulindaka	....	**Not very far from Khētaka and Śivabhāgapura. It may be identified with Pandu, seven miles north-west of Kalad.**	**59, 93**

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Puraṇaka	Kalapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	63, 72
Purnikala	....	Two grants were issued from this place.	71, 73, 81
Puśamitra	....	Probably in the vicinity of Chōtilā.	43
Puśyasambapura ..	....	The donee emigrated from this place and settled at Valabhī.	64, 77
Rōhāṇaka	Rōhāṇaka Pathaka in Surāṣṭra.	It may be identified either with Rōhāṇi, twenty-one miles south of Dhōḷkā, and eleven miles north-west of Cambay or with the village Rohiśālā, which is sixteen miles south-east of Bōtāl and less than ten miles from Vaḷā. However, as the grant was made to the Vihāra in Valabhī itself the latter identification appears to be more appropriate as it was nearer to the donee's place.	49
Rohiṇiyarja. ..	Nāgarakapathaka in Khēṭaka.	It is to the south of Dēyapalli and may be identified with the abovementioned Rohānj, two miles away from Nara—a station of the Pētlad-Cambay Railway line.	72
Rokśasaka	Kasadraha in Khēṭaka.	It may be identified with Radhu, a village seven miles south-west of Khēdā, and fourteen miles from Kasaudra.	67
....	Samhapallika in Khēṭaka in Surāṣṭra.	This seems to have been the easternmost pathaka of Khē-taka and probably adjoins the Suryāpura viṣaya. Sihōdas, which is five miles away to the south of Dēsar, possibly re-presented Simhapallikā.	63
Samapadravaṭaka ..	Ānumañji Sthali ..	....	18
Samihambara ..	Hastavapra	Near findspot of the plate Aiavej at a distance of ten miles there is a village named Samadhiala which may be identified with Samihambara.	11, 12, 15
Sampadraviṭaka. ..	....	In the vicinity of Pippalaruṅ-khari.	70

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Saṅgamaṇaka	Maṇḍali in Surāṣṭra	....	18, 20
Śaṅkarvaṭaka	Hastavapra	Donee's residence.	2
Śankaravaṭaka	....	It lay not far from present-day Madkaṇa (incidental reference is made to this place in the Valabhī grants).	2
Santaputra	Hastavapra	....	61
Saptavasadi	Madasarasthali in Surāṣṭra.	It lay to the north of Madsar.	69, 77
Saraswativaṭika	....	The village is mentioned along with another village Samihambara.	15
Sargapuri	....	It was near Navalakhi (near Vanthali).	34
Sarkarapadraka	Kalapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	63
Savaṇadika	....	The grant was issued from a military camp at this place. It may be identified with Śavalkot, a place near the findspot of the grant. It is nine miles to the north of Kāmlēj.	93
Sihaṁunijja	Kolamba	Identified with Sihunj.	64
Sihāṇaka	Bāravaṇa in Surāṣṭra.	....	69
Siṁhapura	Hastavapra	Donee's residence. Modern Sihōr, a junction of the Bhāvanagar State Railway, fourteen miles south-east of Valabhī and twenty-one miles north-west of Hastavapra.	3, 9, 87
Siṁhapura	....	Identified with Sihōr, twelve miles from Vaḷā. It was the original capital of the Ghōhilōts before Bhāvanagar was founded.	3, 8, 63 7, 17
Sirisiṁhiṇika	....	It lay near Kapadvaṇja.	52, 58
Śivabhāgapura	Śivavhāgapura Viṣaya.	The Visaya lay to the north-east of the Bharukachchha viṣaya. The headquarters Śivabhāgapura have been identified with Śivarājapura, sixteen miles south-east of Hālol.	58
Śiva Kapadraka	Antarātra in Surāṣṭra.	....	23

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Sivatratijjagrama ..	....	May be the same as modern Visali near Lusdi which is seven miles to the north-east of Port Albert Victor.	74
Sradhika	....	At a distance of one mile to the east of Anti there is a village named Sadhi which may be identified with Srādhikā. It is seven and a half miles away from the findspot of the plate Aṇastu.	78
Suryadēsa	....	May be identified with Surjiāli (which may have been another name for Sūrya-palli). The place is at a distance of two miles to Timbāḍi, the find-spot.	29
Suryapura	Suryapura Viṣaya. (It included Gothara and Luṇāvāḍa state.)	It was the headquarters of the Viṣaya. It can be identified with Surdi, a village four miles to the east of Shālēra, a station between Godra and Luṇāvādā. It is eleven miles away from Godra and Luṇāvādā.	87
Tabhagrāma ..	....	Identified with Timbā.	Dvi.
Tapasa Pallika ..	Nāgarakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	The headquarters of the Nāgaraka pathaka have been identified with Nāgara, a place which is at a distance of two miles to the north of Cambay. It is twenty-five miles away from Kheda. The pathaka seems to be the southernmost pathaka of Khēṭaka āhāra.	63
Tāpasiya	Hastavapra	....	2
Thāṇaka	....	This place was on the Paprimati river and has been identified with Thān, a station on the Mōrbi Railway.	31, 36
Trāmaḍia	....	Near Anumañji in Amreli. It may be the same as Trāvada, ten miles south-west of Amreli.	52, 44
Traṇonadi	Anumañji Sthali ..	Donee's residence.	44

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Trisaṅghamaka ..	Hastavapra	It has been identified with Tarsamia, three miles south-east of Bhāvanagar and about four miles north-east of Hāthab. According to information gathered by Jackson, a temple of Koṭṭarā Dēvi stood at this place.	1, 50, 58
Uchchhapadraka ..	Puṇyānaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	33, 40
Udrapadraka ..	....	....	39
Udumbara	....	Four brāhmaṇas are mentioned as emigrants from this place.	51, 52, 56
Uisiṅgha	....	It was near the village Kundhaj.	86
Ujjaini	Malavā (was to the east of Valabhī).	Capital of Malavaka.	44
Unnatta	....	Near Vērāval in the vicinity of Dōmbhigrāma or Maliya. It may be identified with Unā near Dilōnadar.	23
Uppalahēta.. ..	Uppalaheta Pathaka..	It was the headquarters of the Pathaka and may be identified with Uplēta in the Thāsara taluka. The village is five miles to the south-east of Thāsara, thirty-five miles from Kheda and thirteen miles from Aliṇā, the findspot of the grant. The Uppalahēta pathaka was situated in the west of the abovementioned Samipallikā pathaka.	88
Uttapalaka	....	It was near Bhaṭṭāṇaka, and it may be identified with Udāvi, near Kamlej, which is seven miles from Bhāvanagar and thirteen miles from Vaḷā.	34
Vadelasomalika ..	....	It lay to the west of Sihamuhija which is identified with Sihunj or Sunj, a place seven miles to the east of Ahmedabad. Vaddasōmalikā has been identified with Vantāvali. The donee of the grant resided very near this village.	64

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Vahuvāṭaka ..	Suryapura Viṣaya ..	On the bank of the river Vappoikā. It is tentatively identified with Bhaliāwād in the Dōhad tāluka. It is also possible that the place is now called Vaulā, a village one and a quarter miles to the west of Luṇāvādā. The Veri river flows by its side.	87
Valabhi	Surāṣṭra	Capital of the Maitraka king's modern Vaḷa.	13, 14, 35, 40
Valapadra	....	Near Chhadukapadraka in the Hastavapraāhāra. It may be identified with Valavad, two miles west of Śihōr.	39
Valaprajyaka ..	....	This village was, as the grant records, near a well-known place the name of which cannot be deciphered.	14
Valapullika.. ..	Vaṭapalli in Surāṣṭra.	This sthali comprised the triangular tract between Goras, Lusdi and Katpur in the Mahuvā district of the Bhāvanagar state. This is indicated by the identity of some village in this sthali. The place may be identified with Vadla, at a distance of two miles to north-east.	19, 39
Vamśakaṭṭa ..	Hastavapra	Donee's residence.	71, 86
Vamśakaṭṭa ..	....	Probably it was situated next to Talājā, the site of Vanśakatā.	35, 71, 86
Vanditapalli ..	....	It was a place from where a grant was made and it may have been near Nōgāva.	52, 60
Varāhammaṇika ..	Kalapakapathaka in Surāṣṭra.	The phrase "Surāṣṭrakaṣata Kālakṣyoḍaka praboddha" seems to be a wrong reading for "Surāṣṭrēsur Kālapaka Pathaka."	67
Varddhamāna ..	....	The donee migrated from this place which is the same as Vaḍhavāṇa. It was the capital of the Chāpoṭakas under Dharaṇivarāha. The town is named after Varaddhamāna Sūri, the last of the Jaina Tirthaṅkaras. Mērutungā, the famous Jaina writer, resided at this place.	85, 86

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Vardhamāna ..	Vardhamāna bhūkti in Surāṣṭra.	Identified with Vaḍhavāna.	75, 76
Varohaṭaka ..	....	It was to the east of Navagrāma.	59
Vāsukiya ..	Akṣasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	....	9
Vaṭadraka ..	Ghāsaraka Paṭhaka in Surāṣṭra.	Probably the same as the place called Vaḍādar, three miles north-east of Kiśōd.	38
Vaṭagrāma ..	Surāṣṭra	....	14, 20
Vaṭagrāma ..	Dipaṇaka Paṭhaka in Valva Khambha Sthali in Surāṣṭra.	....	28
Vaṭanagara ..	Vaṭanagara Sthali ..	Probably to be identified with modern Vadādar, ten miles to the north of Vanthali.	39
Vaṭanumaka ..	....	It must have been near Śīhor and Hāthab, as it is mentioned along with another village in Hāthab while the former place was the donee's residence.	71
Vatapadraka ..	....	The findspot of the plate mentioning this village is Dhānk, and the grant was made to a temple which may have been in the present Vedalā near Dhānk.	9, 39
Velapadra ..	Akṣasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	Donee's residence. This may be the present Vēlāmēdar, a village at a distance of two miles from Talājā and about twenty miles south-west of Hāthab.	9
Velapadraka ..	Jharisthali in Surāṣṭra.	May be the same as Vēlivaḍar in Kāṭhiāwāḍ. It was to the west of Dadhikūpaka as recorded by the grant.	20, 24, 48
Vijragrāma ..	Antarātra in Surāṣṭra.	....	23
Vikilliśa ..	Ghorasa Viṣaya ..	....	56
Vīraputra ..	....	Near Madsar.	30

Name of the place	Territorial division	Identification and remarks	Reference
Visalapaṭaka ..	....	To the west of Daśāṇaka.	74
Viśvapalli	Kolamba	It was in the south of Vadda somalikā and may be identified with Vansōl, three miles south-east of Vantāvali.	64
Vitapadra	Akṣasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	Donee's residence. This may be the present Vēlāmēdar, a village at a distance of two miles from Talājā and about twenty miles south-west of Hathab.	8
Vyāghradināṇaka ..	Ghāsaraka Paṭhaka in Surāṣṭra.	....	86
Yodhavaka ..	Akṣasaraka in Hastavapra in Surāṣṭra.	A Buddhist Vihāra was built at this place by Skandabhaṭṭa.	53

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.O.R.I.	=	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
A.M.M.K.	=	Arya Mañju-Śrī-Mūla Kalpa.
Ant. Rev.	=	Antique Review.
As. Res.	=	Asiatic Researches.
As. Rev.	=	Asiatic Review.
B.I.S.M.Q.	=	Bhārat Itihāsa Saṁśodhana Maṇḍal Quarterly.
Bom. Gaz.	=	Bombay Gazetteer.
B. of D.C.R.I	=	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute—Poona.
B.I.C.H.S.	=	Bulletin of the International Committee of the Historical Science.
B.S.O.S.	=	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.
C.H.I.	=	Cambridge History of India.
C.S.H.I.	=	Cambridge Shorter History of India.
E.C.	=	Epigraphia Carnatica.
E.I.	=	Epigraphia Indica.
I.A.	=	Indian Antiquary.
I.A.L.	=	Indian Art and Letters.
I.C.	=	Indian Culture.
I.H.Q.	=	Indian Historical Quarterly.
Is. Cul.	=	Islamic Culture.
Jain. S.B.	=	Jaina Siḍḍhanta Bhāskara.
J.A.H.R.S.	=	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society.
J.A.S.B.	=	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.B.H.S.	=	Journal of the Bombay Historical Society.
J.B.H.U.	=	Journal of the Benares Hindu University.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	=	Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society.
J.B.O.R.S.	=	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
J.D.L.	=	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta.
J.G.R.S.	=	Journal of the Gujarat Research Society.
J.I.H.	=	Journal of Indian History.
J.I.S.O.A.	=	Journal of India Society of Oriental Art.
J.M.S.	=	Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society.
J.M.U.	=	Journal of the Madras University.
J.N.S.I.	=	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
J.P.T.S.	=	Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
J.R.A.S.	=	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
J.U.B.	=	Journal of the University of Bombay.
J.U.P.H.S.	=	Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.
M.B.	=	The Mahābodhi (Journal of the Mahābodhi Society).
M.A.R.	=	Mysore Archeaological Report.
N.I.A.	=	New Indian Antiquary.
P.O.	=	Poona Orientalist.
P.I.H.C.	=	Proceeding of the Indian History Congress.
S.B.E.	=	Sacred Books of the East.
S.B.H.	=	Sacred Books of Hindus.
Traimasika	=	Forbes Sabhā Traimāsika.
V.O.C. Rept.	=	Vienna Oriental Congress Report.

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